A

TREATISE

ON THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

OF

ENGLAND,

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

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A

TREATISE

ON THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

OF

ENGLAND,

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES,

WITH TEN ILLUSTRATIVE PLATES.

BY THE

REV. JOHN MILNER, D.D. F.S.A. &c.

" Certe solet ecclesiarum cultus augustior quaslibet brutas mentes ad " orandum illicere, quamlibet cervicositatem ad supplicandum et inflec- " tere." *Gul. Malmesbur. De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl. XV. Auct.*

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TO

HIS GRACE,

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK,

HEREDITARY EARL MARSHAL OF ENGLAND,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF ARTS, &c.

THIS TREATISE

On an Ancient Art,

WHICH OWES ITS RISE AND PROGRESS TO ENGLAND,

IN GRATITUDE,

FOR PROTECTION FROM OBLOQUY,

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

3966

PREFACE.

THE subject of the present Treatise has given rise to so much and such earnest debate among the learned and ingenious, and has occasioned so many publications, and such a variety of systems concerning it, as cannot fail of exciting the wonder of persons insensible to the grandeur and beauty of Pointed Architecture, and unacquainted with the merit of its invention.

Amongst other writers on this subject, is the present author, in the

Second Volume of his HISTORY of WINCHESTER, the first edition of which was published about a dozen years ago; when much attention was paid to the system there laid down. The following are the outlines of it: *first*, that the whole style of Pointed Architecture, with all its members and embellishments of cluster-columns, converging groins, flying buttresses, tracery, tabernacles, crockets, finials, cusps, orbs, pinnacles, and spires, grew, by degrees, out of the simple pointed arch, between the latter end of the 12th and the early part of the 14th centuries; *secondly*, that the pointed arch itself was discovered by observing the happy effect of those intersecting semicircular arches with which the architects of the latter end

of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries were accustomed to ornament all their principal ecclesiastical edifices; and *thirdly*, that we are chiefly indebted for both these discoveries, that is to say, both for the rise and the progress of Pointed Architecture, to our own ancestors, the Anglo-Normans, and the English.

The system here traced out, which the author first took up and advanced with a considerable degree of diffidence, has gained a much stronger hold upon his mind, in consequence of a more strict examination of historical documents and existing monuments of Pointed Architecture, and, in some degree, by more attentively weighing the arguments which have been advanced by dif-

ferent writers against this system. Nevertheless, occupied as the author has been for a long time past with other more serious studies, he is confident he should never have gone to press for the sake of defending the opinions in question, had he not been called upon and irresistibly pressed by that profound scholar and worthy man, Dr. Rees, to furnish the article GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE, for the grandest and most copious work in the English language, his new CYCLOPÆDIA. In drawing up that article, the author found himself precluded by the nature of the work, from availing himself of the numerous historical authorities he had collected in support of his system. Hence he came to the resolution of publishing the pre-

sent treatise in order to confirm and illustrate the article in the CYCLOPÆDIA, and to detail this system at greater length than he was able to do in that work.

But to return to the principal subject: the first of the positions advanced above, namely, that Pointed Architecture grew out of the Pointed Arch, seems to be generally admitted at the present day. Upon the two others, various and uncertain judgments have been formed. Thus much, however, seems clear from the discussion, that there is a wayward disposition in many learned men which leads them to believe any thing rather than what they see before their eyes, and to admit any other ancient people, even barbarians and ruthless destroyers of the

arts, to have been ingenious and capable of making a curious discovery, rather than their own high minded, magnificent, and enterprizing ancestors, who nevertheless were, beyond all dispute, the first people of the age (in which Pointed Architecture was invented, and attained its first growth), for prowess and grand undertakings in general, and the most studious of ecclesiastical architecture in particular, that any age or country ever produced.

Not content with defending his former system, the author has gone a step beyond it in the present treatise. He has attempted to refute the common objection that Pointed Architecture is destitute of orders, rules, and proportions. In opposition to this, he has maintained, that

there are three Orders of the Pointed Style, as distinct from each other as are the orders of Grecian architecture, having their respective members, ornaments, and proportions, though the essential and characteristical difference among them consists in the degree of angle formed by the pointed arch. Hence he shews that there is hardly less barbarism in confounding these orders, as for example by intermixing the obtuse angles of the third order with the acute angles of the first, in the manner that has sometimes been witnessed of late, than there was in uniting Grecian and Pointed Architecture together, as was so often done, one and two hundred years ago.

To those persons who may wish to form a general idea of the nature and effect of these respec-

tive orders, without entering into the detail of them, the three last plates in the present work cannot fail of being acceptable. He trusts that the views which they contain will convince the most superficial observer of the propriety of his division of Pointed Architecture into three distinct orders, and of the justness of his reasons for giving a preference to the second Order.

Plate VIII. shews the first order, in an interior view of the East end of Canterbury Cathedral, built at the latter end of the twelfth century. Plate IX. exhibits the second order, in an interior view of York Minster, the erection of which may be placed at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Plate X. presents a specimen of the third order, in an inside view of the

Lady Chapel of Westminster Abbey, built by Henry VII. at the very beginning of the sixteenth century.

It may be observed, that the East end of Canterbury Cathedral, Pl. VIII. with the few exceptions mentioned in the Treatise, is entirely in the Pointed Style, and is probably the most perfect specimen of it extant, of so remote a date. It is highly grand and awful; still there is a degree of plainness and heaviness about it, which marks the first gradation from the ponderous simple Saxon Style. The Pointed Arches are irregularly formed, and, for the most part, are too acute to be graceful. The latter circumstance is more distinctly seen in the Arches of the gallery at the Eastern extremity, which are exhibited in Pl. VI, fig. 27.

There also may be seen one of those double circular Pillars, which may be considered as the first attempt to produce the cluster column. It may be observed that the apsis, or East end of the choir, where the Bishop heretofore had his Throne, and the Clergy their Stalls on each hand of him, at the back of the Altar, is semicircular. Such was the general form of this part of the Sacred Fabric, till large east windows were introduced about the beginning of the 13th century. It being in some sort, necessary that these should be in a straight line, and that the altars should be placed almost under them, to produce the desired effect; hence the choirs, about that period, were removed to the front, or westward of the altars. Another important re-

mark here occurs. The writer has observed, in his Treatise, what an incomparable advantage it is to the Architectural Student, in surveying this very interesting structure, to be possessed of a minute and accurate account of the building of it, drawn up by an intelligent eye-witness, Gervase, a monk of this Cathedral. Now it is to be noticed that, in his description and praises of the work, he never once intimates that the style of it, or of any part of it, was borrowed from Syria, Arabia, France, Spain, or Italy, but that he appears to attribute the merit of the whole chiefly to the ingenuity of its two architects, both of them of the name of William.

The view of Henry VIIth's chapel in Westminster Abbey, exhibited in

Plate X. will arrest the eye and gain the chief and unqualified applause of many a spectator.[d] No doubt, it is grand and awful in itself, and still more so when compared with most modern places of worship: still we must not forget that its characteristical features are magnificence, ingenuity, delicacy, and elegance. In these qualities it stands unrivalled among similar structures throughout the world, and hence it might aptly enough be said, by a former author, to have been *knit together by the fingers of angels.* Nevertheless, in the present writer's opinion, it is too

[d] The tracery work in this small view, appears so very rich and intricate, that it was only by an outline, or etching, an adequate idea of its beauty could be clearly represented. A Plan of the Ceiling may be seen, laid down geometrically, in *Britton's Architectural Antiquities.*

gorgeous and too elaborate to produce the proper effect of such a structure, *in its highest degree;* and the pendent capitals, in particular, which are its most striking ornaments, are more calculated to shew the skill of Sir Richard de Bray, its architect, than to add to the awfulness of the place. They certainly bring down the groins nearer to the eye instead of producing an artificial height, which is so favourable to sublime sensations. It must be added, that the arches, where we see them in their simple form, namely, in the intercolumniations on the sides and over the doors, are exceedingly obtuse or flat.

For the abovementioned reasons, the judicious observer, after admiring the magnificence and delicacy of this

gorgeous chapel, will turn with pleasure to contemplate the chaste and appropriate decorations of the Second Pointed Order, displayed in York Minster. Here every part is ornamented, and yet no ornaments appear redundant or crowded, none but what seem to have their use, and to be duly subordinate to the proper effects of the sacred fane, namely, awfulness and devotion. The massive columns, which principally sustain the stupendous pile, are so judiciously divided into clusters as to appear comparatively slender. The tallest shaft in each of them, rising to about two-thirds of the perpendicular height of the lofty groins, is there crowned with a sculptured historic or hieroglyphic capital. From this spring three

principal ribs, which diverge, at their respective knots, into other shorter ribs, after a simple but elegant design of tracery, so as to give the appearance at once of lightness, beauty, and height to the towering canopy which they support. From the same tall shaft proceed two lateral ribs, which meeting in a point with similar ribs from the adjoining columns, form the arches of the beautiful windows of the nave. The mullions of these windows, being continued down to the bottom of their story, by an unusual but happy contrivance, form those of the light and uniform triforium or gallery. Other shafts of the main cluster sustain the springers, which support the well-turned arches of the intercolumniations, while additional springers, meeting with cor-

responding ones from the clusters in the walls of the aisles, produce their enchanting long-drawn vistos. Answering to the open intercolumniations are the windows of the aisles, rich with elegant tracery, but not obstructed by it. As the windows of the nave, by means of the mullions of the open gallery, are continued down to a line just over the crown of the main arches, so the dado or open space beneath the windows of the side aisles, down to the stone seat near the pavement, is enriched with an appropriate arcade of the most elegant stall-work. In short, as no spectator, who has eyes to see and a soul to feel, would wish a single ornament in the Minster nave to be removed or altered, so, it is presumed, that no judicious ob-

server would recommend the addition of a single new ornament to it; and still less the gorgeous vaulting of King's College, or of Henry VIIth's Chapel.

It must be observed, that the author has preferred interior views of churches, for illustrating the present work, to exterior ones; because whatever pains our ingenious ancestors bestowed on the façades and other outside work of these fabrics, it is certain that their chief art and magnificence was expended on the inside of them; for, as it has been frequently signified, their object was to excite those devout sensations for the sake of which the Pointed Style itself was invented. In this point their ideas differed essentially from those of the Pagan, and also of

most modern architects, whose sacred structures, I mean those in the Grecian style, when viewed exteriorly, often present grand emotions of the mind, which, however, generally die away at the first glimpse of their naked and mean interior.

The claims of our ancestors in both respects, that is to say, both as to the discovery and the improvement of Pointed Architecture, have been warmly contested, of late, by a Divine of extensive reading and acute observation, [a] and by a young Nobleman of the greatest hopes to science [b] both of whom seem to have travelled as well as to have written in order to prove that this style

[a] The Rev. G. D. Whittington. Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France.

[b] See Preface to the above work.

appeared earlier and was carried to greater perfection in France than in England. These pretensions have been opposed with equal warmth and firmness by an Architectural Antiquary, [c] to whom his professional art is more indebted for its illustration, for the preservation of some of its choicest monuments, and for directing aright the public opinion and taste concerning it, than to any other individual whomsoever. There certainly has been too much warmth on both sides. Controversies in general, particularly on scientific subjects, in order to conduct to truth, require to be discussed with coolness and without any mixture of national or other partiality. The author is

[c] Mr. John Carter, Architect. See different numbers in Gent. Mag. 1809-10.

not conscious that he has been influenced by any such temper in the system which he defends. On the contrary, he flatters himself that he has built upon historical and critical evidence alone.

POSTSCRIPT.

JUST as the press is closing, the writer sees certain strictures on Mr. Britton's Architectural Antiquities in the last Quarterly Review, (No. 8,) which, if well founded, must prove fatal to a part of the system contained in the present publication; what the Reviewers say, is as follows: "A powerful "attempt has recently been made, in the valuable "work of Mr. Whittington, to revive and confirm "the supposition of the invention of the Gothic "Style in the East; a supposition, which was "started by Wren, accepted by Lowth, and main-"tained by Warton; and *which seems to receive "a further support, from the fact recorded by "Matthew Paris, of the employment of captive*

"*Saracens, as labourers under European archi-*
"*tects.*"---The writer has consulted the passage of Matthew Paris, here referred to, which had before escaped him, and finds it to stand thus: "A.D. 1184.---Quo mortuo (Macemut) totus ejus "exercitus fugit, omni pecuniâ relictâ. Rex vero "Portugalensis ex captivis Saračenis dedit servos "qui cementariis ministrarent ad ecclesias re-"parandas; et de pecunia, Sancto Vincentio au-"ream fecit thecam."---The question between the Reviewers and the writer now is, how far this relation of the intelligent monk of St. Albans, proves that the Pointed Style of building was derived to Europe, from Arabia or other Eastern countries, through the Moors of Spain? The writer, for his part, is of opinion, that the quotation, so far from proving this fact, proves directly the contrary. What it asserts is, that the Saracen Chieftain, Macemut, being killed, and his army being dispersed, the victorious king of Portugal devoted the treasures which they left behind them to the construction of a golden shrine for the relics of the celebrated Spanish martyr, St. Vincent, and the captive Saracens to serve the masons, who were employed in repairing the Churches, which had been desolated by the ancestors of these captives. In fact, both the Moors and the Christians of the Western Peninsula were in the habit of making their victories

over each other subservient to the advancement and splendour of their respective religions. Thus when Almansor took Compostella, he forced a considerable number of his Christian captives to carry the bells of the Cathedral Church on their backs to his capital of Cordova; and, by the same rule, when Ferdinand III. of Castile, became master of Cordova in 1236, he obliged a number of the Moors to carry them back to Compostella in the same manner. He also made it a rule to dedicate the spoils which he took in his numerous conquests over these Mahometans, to the advancement of Christianity in one shape or another. Such was the nature and intent of the King of Portugal's decree in 1184, with respect to the employment of his Saracen prisoners. He did not set them to work in repairing the Churches, for any skill which they possessed in a style of architecture, so peculiarly adapted to ecclesiastical purposes, otherwise he would have put Saracen architects and masons in requisition, instead of masons' labourers; but he condemned a certain number of them, as many, we may suppose, as could be so employed, to devote their personal toil to the re-establishment and splendour of the Christian religion.

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A

TREATISE

ON THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

OF

ENGLAND, &c.

CHAP. I.

The little light which is to be derived from the History of the Middle Ages concerning the different Styles of their Architecture—Still it is from History and coeval Monuments, that certain information in this matter is alone to be obtained—Principal object of the present Treatise—Ambiguity of the terms hitherto employed in treating of the Architecture in question—The writer's opinion on this Subject.

NEXT to the intrinsic beauty and sublimity of the pointed architecture of the middle ages, the circumstance which principally excites our admiration, is the silence of con-

temporary writers, concerning the inventors of it, and the very country where it first appeared. We frequently read in the annals and biographical histories of those times, of churches and other ecclesiastical buildings being built or repaired in a new style of elegance and with additional magnificence; and we clearly discern the emulation which existed among the founders and architects of these structures to outdo each other in the decorations and grandeur of their respective works, which emulation could not fail of producing improvements in an art not then subject to any fixed rules: still there is no record extant to inform us who first broke the architectural semicircle of former ages, into the aspiring arch of the pointed style; who devised to split the ponderous pillar of the established orders, into the light cluster of our Cathedral columns; or who began to ramify the plain mullions of our windows and the ribs of our vaults

into the rich tracery of our bays[a] and groins. It is even still a subject of controversy to what part of the world we are to look for these singular discoveries. But, indeed, the same mist of obscurity hangs over the origin of bells, organs, clocks, painted glass and other important inventions of the ages, injuriously called *the dark ages* by the vain and superficial one in which our lot is cast. Thus much we may gather with certainty from this very silence of our religious ancestors and their general indifference with respect to posthumous fame, that they were more anxious about being good and useful than appearing so.

Still it is from the records and monuments of the ages in question, and not from the fanciful theories or unsupported decisions of modern architects or other writers that such light as can be collected concerning these matters is to be obtained. Perhaps, after all,

[a] Bays or days the ancient name for separate lights in a window.

this light, though dim and unsteady, may be found sufficient to lead the careful and unprejudiced inquirer to a satisfactory conclusion on the principal points in discussion. But then the records which are consulted ought to be coeval, or nearly so, with the works they mention; or, if borrowed from later writers, these ought to be men of such acknowledged learning, judgment, and fidelity, as to be entirely depended upon.

Then, as to the monuments, there must be sufficient evidence that they are the genuine unaltered productions of the æras to which they are attributed. For so numerous have been the changes in most ancient structures, either from alterations of the style, or from the necessity of reparations, that without the greatest judgment and knowledge in these matters, as well as the nicest and most jealous attention to them, we are constantly exposed to the grossest anachronisms and other errors in pronouncing upon them. On this account coeval medals, carvings, mo-

saics and paintings, representing ancient buildings, frequently afford better evidence as to their former state than the actual sight of the originals do, as being free from those alterations to which the buildings themselves have been exposed.

The principal object of the present essay, which the author of it has been called upon to undertake both by his scientific allies, and his antagonists, is to ascertain the origin, progress, and orders of the pointed architecture of the middle ages. This, however, cannot be done, in a clear and satisfactory manner, without treating, at considerable length, of the circular style which prevailed in the preceding portion of those ages, and without clearing up the obscurity in which certain celebrated architects and writers have enveloped both these styles by the uncertainty and confusion of their language and ideas concerning them.

The restorers of the Grecian Orders in Italy, by way of disgracing all the archi-

tecture of the preceding centuries, not conformable to them, called it indiscriminately *the Gothic*.[b] In this they have been followed by modern French architects as likewise by Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Evelyn and other English writers, whose ignorance or whose prejudice has even led them to believe that the Goths and other barbarians of the fourth and fifth centuries really invented a new style of architecture which they substituted for that of the Roman monuments they destroyed. The celebrated architect of St. Paul's quotes, with applause, what he calls, "Mr. Evelyns judicious com-" parison of the ancient and modern styles," where the latter says; "The ancient Greek "and Roman architecture answers all the

[b] The Italians more generally called the pointed style by the name of *Tedesco* or *German*, because the specimens of this style which they were best acquainted with existed in Germany; and because the architects who raised the few pointed structures which are found in Italy were mostly Germans. Ciampini, speaking of the canopy of an altar raised in the Old Vatican by Pope Boniface VIII. in 1290, terms it: "Ciborium cuspidatum, Germani operis, cujus architectus fuit quidam Arnulphus." De Sacris Ædificiis a Constant, Magn. Construct. p. 65.

"perfections required in a faultless and ac-
"complished building, and doubtless would
"have still subsisted and made good their
"claim, and what is recorded of them, had
"not the Goths and Vandals and other bar-
"barous nations subverted and demolished
"them, together with that glorious empire,
"where those stately and pompous monu-
"ments stood; introducing in their stead a
"certain fantastical and licentious manner
"of building, which we have since called
"Modern or Gothic: congestions of heavy
"dark, melancholy, monkish piles without
"any just proportion, use or beauty."[c] The architect having thus commended this invective of Mr. Evelyn against Gothic architecture, as being heavy congestions of "monkish piles," goes on to abuse it for possessing precisely the opposite character, where he says: "The irruption of swarms "of these truculent people from the north,

[c] Sir Christopher Wren's Parentalia.

"the Moors and Arabs from the South and "East, overrunning the civilized world, "wherever they fixed themselves, began to "debauch this noble and useful art: when, "instead of those beautiful orders, so ma-"jestical and proper, they set up those "slender and mis-shapen pillars, or rather "bundles of staves, and other incongruous "props, to support incumbent weights and "ponderous arched roofs without entabla-"ture."[d] We shall afterwards see that the celebrated Bishop Warburton, at the same time that he speaks with admiration of pointed architecture, actually ascribes the invention of

[d] Parentalia.—Not very conformable with this idea but in conformity with that of Mr. Evelyn, Sir Christopher elsewhere describes our sublime and beautiful Cathedrals (so much superior as places of divine worship, to all that he could borrow from the Pagan temples) as "Mountains of Stone, vast gigantic buildings, "but not worthy the name of architecture." Ibid.—To the prejudiced and extravagant declamation of one English architect, on this subject, we are glad to oppose the rational and liberal sentiments of another. Sir William Chambers in his work on Civil Architecture, says: "We are indebted to those called Gothic "Architects for the first considerable improvements in construc-"tion. There is a lightness in their works, an art and a boldness "of execution to which the ancients never arrived, and which the "moderns comprehend and imitate with difficulty."

it to the Goths, with the help of the Moors. The same confusion of language prevails among later writers, whose ideas are more correct on the subject than those of the authors just quoted. A late celebrated antiquary who frequently praises the pointed style under the name of Gothic, and who had planned a history of it, positively denies that "Salisbury Catheral is absolutely Go-"thic,"[e] while another architectural critic, of still greater fame and merit, as positively asserts that "Salisbury Cathedral is entirely "in the Gothic style."[f] Certain writers who confess the impropriety of the term *Gothic Architecture*, still persist in applying it to the pointed manner,[g] whilst others, who are indignant at the unjust reproach

[e] The Rev. Thomas Warton, Notes on Spencer.

[f] The Rev. J. Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral, Sect. V.

[g] The Rev. James Dallaway in his learned Observations on English Architecture, occasionally applies the term Gothic to the Pointed style: while the Rev. G. D. Whittington terms it so in his very title page. See an Historical survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, with a view to illustrate the rise and progress of Gothic Architecture in Europe.

which they conceive is thereby cast upon one of the happiest inventions of the human mind, call it, some the *Norman style*, others the *English style*,[h] these the *Cathedral style*, those the *Pointed style*. The writer long ago expressed his decided preference of the last of these terms,[i] and he is of opinion that the present dissertation will shew its propriety.

[h] See Appendix A.

[i] See "Observations on the means necessary for further illustrating the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle Ages," by the writer, prefixed to Mr. J. Taylor's collection of *Essays on Gothic Architecture*.

CHAP. II.

Decline of Architecture in the Roman Empire—Form of the ancient Basilics and other churches—Decline of Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Greek no less than in the Latin Church—The Ecclesiastical Architecture of this Island at its Conversion to Christianity that of Rome, being introduced by Missionaries from that City—Our Saxon Ancestors soon became eminent in Ecclesiastical Architecture, still following the Roman Fashion—Genuine Saxon Architecture difficult to be met with, but Representations of it not uncommon—Vindication of this Architecture from Modern Misrepresentations.

PERPETUAL change is the condition of all human things: accordingly the arts and literature, like the power of the great Roman empire, when they had attained to their utmost height in the Augustan age, began, soon after, to decline from it. This was particularly the case with its architecture. Critics in the Grecian orders remark, that the triumphal arch of Severus is less perfect than that of Titus: whilst the monument of Constantine's triumph over Max-

entius, erected by the senate and people of Rome, is charged with columns, statues, and other ornaments, purloined from the arch of Trajan, and irregularly placed. It was chiefly from about this period, namely, the beginning of the fourth century, when Christianity became the established religion of the civilized world, and when churches were every where opened for the public exercise of it, that the prevailing architecture began to exhibit sensible marks of barbarism.[k]

These churches were not always built from the ground; for in several instances the emperors gave up their palaces and courts of justice, called *Basilics*, for the service of religion. The form of these,

[k] See the medals of the abovementioned tyrant Maxentius, PL. I. *fig.* I. and that of Licinius, who was during some time, fellow-emperor with Constantine, published by Speed in his History of England, and copied in PLATE I. *fig.* II. In the former medal a temple is seen with capitals, bases, and a nebulè moulding, approaching to the zig-zag, which, had they appeared in architecture instead of a medal, would certainly be post-dated many hundred years. In the latter medal we see a highly pointed cornice or canopy over a circular door.

being oblong and surrounded by porticos or aisles, raised upon columns, with galleries very frequently over these, was found very suitable both to the majesty and the uses of religion. Little more was requisite for the latter purpose than to shut up the porticos exteriorly with walls and doors, [1] to cover in the open area in the middle with a roof, where wanting, and to place an altar near the upper end opposite to the bishop's throne, and an ambo, or pulpit, somewhere about the middle of the nave. We shall exhibit an elevation of an ancient Roman basilic in its original state, such as may be expected from a small medal[m]; as also the plan of one in actual existence, which was changed by Constantine into a church. It was formerly called the Sessórian Basilic, and since, the Church of the Holy Cross of Jerusalem. In this plan we shall point out

[1] Appendix B.

[m] PLATE I. *fig.* III. It is copied from Ciampini's Vet. Monum. T. 1. pl. xxi.

the principal parts and general arrangement of a church in primitive times, according to the best ecclesiastical antiquaries[n], as far as these were common to the Greeks and the Latins, and to the different forms of the sacred edifices: for some of the churches were built circular or octangular, others in the shape of a cross: still the general form of them was oblong, with a semicircular apsis at the eastern end; and the disposition of the sanctuary, the altar, and the narthex, or penitentiary porch, at least, was the same in all churches.[o]

As a general outside view of an ancient Roman church, we have copied the Mosaic picture of the Church of St. Agnes, which

[n] Montfaucon. Diar. Italic. Le Brun. Liturg. T. 2. Allatius, &c.

[o] See PLATE I. *fig.* IV. Plan of the Church of the Holy Cross, from Ciampini's Vet. Mon. T. 1. pl. iv. compared with those of St. Clement and other churches described by the abovementioned ecclesiastical antiquaries. A A The Apsis forming the Presbytery. B The Bishop's Throne with Stalls for the Clergy. C C The Sanctuary or Chancel. D The Altar. E The Gradus or steps. F F The Nave. G The Ambo or Pulpit. H The Tribune for Women. I The Tribune for Men. K The Narthex or Penitent's Porch. L The Door.

is proved to have been executed by order of Pope Honorius, about the year 621[p]. The Pope is here represented in his dalmatic and pallium, bearing in his hands the present representation of the church of St. Agnes, which was built by Constantine the Great, at the beginning of the fourth century, and repaired as we have said by Honorius early in the seventh. We here see a porch or cloister surrounding the church, and closed up except at the west end, where the entrance into the narthex is barely covered with a curtain, as was the custom in that age, with respect to the first entrance into palaces as well as churches. The porch at the east end sweeps round to form the circular apsis. The windows of the nave are small and round headed, while those of the porches or aisles are square, and the whole sacred structure, which is of the oblong form, is destitute of ornaments.

[p] This is expressed in the inscription under the picture executed in the same Mosaic work. See *fig.* V.

Such, we may venture to say, was nearly the form and disposition of the Saxon churches built by St. Paulinus and our other primitive architects, the cotemporaries of Pope Honorius, at York, Lincoln, Rochester, Dorchester, and elsewhere.

The same decline in the arts which is observable in the monuments of the western empire, particularly after the beginning of the fourth century, is also to be traced in those of the eastern empire[q]. The celebrated Church and Choir of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, which, after all that has been said and written about them, cannot be proved to have been rebuilt or essentially changed since they were erected by Constantine's mother, St. Helena, about the year 320, constitute altogether a most noble fabric; still an air of Saxon nakedness and rudeness pervades the whole of them, and the very columns with

[q] The gradual decline of the arts from the fourth down to the twelfth century, when they began to improve in the Greek as well as in the Latin Church, may be traced in Dufresne's Series of Medals published in his Historia Byzantina.

their capitals, &c. though of the Corinthian order, are quite disproportioned, and destitute of entablature[r]. This rudeness of design and execution is still more visible in the boasted church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian, in 637, and still existing as a Turkish Mosque. We shall give a partial view of its interior, and another of one of its external porticos. These will convince the architectural antiquary, that the Grecian orders were not much more attended to in their native land during the seventh century, than they were in Italy and France[s].

To speak now of our own country: the Romans were not so completely masters of it, as to allow of their raising any grand structures in it, till their architecture was

[r] See the interior views of the Church and Choir, both of them being, as to their essential parts, circular, in Cornelius Le Bruyn's Voyage to the Levant.

[s] See Pl. 1. *fig.* VI. being part of the exterior porch in front of the building, from Dufresne. Also Pl. 2. *fig.* VII. being a portion of the inside of St. Sophia, copied from a view of the whole, in the elegant work of M. De. D'Ohsson, L'Empire Othoman.

upon the decline. Accordingly we meet with nothing perfect or very elegant in such ruins of their temples, houses, baths, hypocausts, or other erections, as have been discovered in Britain. Afterwards, when the Ostrogoths and Huns overran Italy, the Visigoths and Suevi Spain, the Franks and Burgundians Gaul, and the Saxons Angles and Jutes South Britain, all which invasions took place in the course of the fifth century, these several hordes of barbarians destroyed innumerable monuments of ancient architecture, but they did not busy themselves in raising other structures in their place. It does not appear that they were then acquainted with any of the decorations or uses of architecture beyond what are found in a military tent, or a rustic cabin: and, when they sat down to inhabit the countries they had conquered, instead of teaching the inhabitants a new species of architecture, which they are supposed by some writers to have brought with them from their na-

tive forests and wilds) they employed these very inhabitants to raise their principal structures according to such knowledge and experience as remained of ancient art. So absurd is the idea that the Goths invented any species of architecture whatsoever, and especially the elegant pointed style!

It would be no less contrary to reason to attribute the invention of that heavy circular manner of building in which our first churches were raised, to the Saxons. It is called the Saxon style, merely because it prevailed during their dynasty in Britain; but, in fact, it is the Grecian or Roman style, having the essential characters of that style, though, in consequence of the general decline of the arts, rudely executed. The truth is, it was introduced with Christianity itself, amongst our ancestors by missionaries from Rome, at the end of the sixth century.

At first, indeed, the new converts made use of such few churches as had been spared

by their fathers when they swept off Christianity, together with the professors of it, the Britons, from the provinces of England; notwithstanding most of these churches had been polluted with the worship of Thor and Woden[t]. When they began to build other churches, they were content, in the beginning, to make them of oaken planks or of wattles, thatched with reeds[u]. Such a

[t] St. Augustine, on his arrival at Canterbury, found a church called St. Martin's, which had been built whilst the Romans were masters of Britain. Bede's Eccles. Hist. l. 1. c. 26. There is no reason to doubt that the Pagan temples mentioned in chapter xxx. of the same book, had originally been Christian churches. See also Thomas Rudborne's Hist. Maj. Wint. l. 11. c. 1. Angl. Sacr. &. Mat. West. The latter, speaking of the Saxon invaders, says: "Si qua ecclesia illæsa servabatur (a Saxonibus) hoc magis ad confusionem, nominis Christi quam ad gloriam faciebant. "Nempe ex eis deorum suorum templa facientes profanis suis "ritibus sancta Dei altaria polluerunt." Ad ann. 586.

[u] "Ecclesiam S. Petri (Eboraci) de ligno construxit." Bed. l. II. c. 14. See also Hen. Huntingdonens. l. III. The Cathedral Church of the East Angles, till almost the time of the Conquest, [when it was removed from Elmham to Thetford, previously to its being fixed at Norwich,] was made of wood. "Vir "prudentis consilia (Herebertus de Losinga) vagæ sedis non fe-"rens injuriam; quæ nunc in vico qui Elmham dicitur in *sacello* "*ligneo*, nunc vero apud. Tefordense oppidulum habebatur, "multum sibi locum Norwici comparabat," &c. Vid. Ang. Sac. Vol. I. p. 407. Finian, who had been a monk of the Irish Mo-

church still exists, or did exist not long since, at Greensted, in Essex[x].

It is true, that Edwin, the first Christian king of the Northumbrians, began to build a church of stone in his capital of York, soon after his baptism, namely, in 627, which church enclosed the wooden oratory he had first erected[y]; but we are expressly told by our venerable historian, that he was taught how to construct it by St. Paulinus, the same missionary from Rome who had converted him[z]. It appears, however, that Paulinus did not absolutely despise these wooden fabrics, since he himself built such a one at Catarick, This is plain from the reason which Bede

nastery of Hi, or Iona, becoming Bishop of Lindisfarn, is said to have "built a church, fit for his episcopal see, of sawn wood, "covered with reeds, after the Scottish (that is to say, the Irish) "manner. Fecit ecclesiam, episcopali sede congruam, quam tamen, "more Scottorum, non de lapide, sed de robore secto totam com- "posuit atque arundine texit." Bed. l. III. c. 25.

[x] See a view of it in Vetusta Monumenta, vol. 2. plate 7.

[y] Bed. l. II. c. 14.

[z] "Curavit, docente eodem Paulino majorem et Augustiorem "de lapide fabricare basilicam." Ibid.

assigns for the preservation of the altar, when the church itself, soon after its erection, was burnt down by the Pagans, namely, that the altar was made of stone[a]. This same Roman bishop and architect built another church of wood at the Mother of British Christianity, as it was called, the Monastery of Glastonbury, or to speak more properly, he cased the church which had hitherto consisted of wattles or hurdles[b], with boards, and then covered the whole with sheets of lead[c]. This method of

[a] L. II. c. 14.

[b] This instance of building a church in basket-work cannot fail of being acceptable, if it has not already occurred to a learned baronet, who is said to be eagerly following up his new and favourite system concerning the wickerwork origin of pointed architecture. It appears from William of Malmsbury, that the British anachorets of Glastonbury continued to follow their course of life in the fastnesses of their retired island, such as Glastonbury then was, during the whole period of the Pagan Saxon persecution. It is easy to conceive, however, that they must have practised their religion with great secrecy, which accounts for their having nothing better than a wattled hut for their oratory. This was preserved by Paulinus, out of reverence for the holy personages who had prayed in it, when he built a more decent church of wood and metal over it.

[c] Appendix C.

casing whole churches in lead was followed by other architects[d].

Our Saxon ancestors were diligent disciples of their Roman masters in architecture, as well as in every other art and science. St. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, in particular, rendered himslf famous during the latter part of the seventh century, for the churches which he built at Rippon, Hexham[e], and many other places. The last mentioned church is celebrated by ancient writers, who had seen it, as a miracle of art[f]. He likewise repaired, in the best manner, his Cathedral of York, "covering the roof "with pure lead, and the windows with "glass, in such manner as to prevent the "entrance of birds and rain, and yet to "admit the light[g]." But then this prelate's journeys to Rome, and his visits to the churches there, and the instructions which he received from Archdeacon Boni-

[d] Appendix D.
[e] Appendix E.
[f] Appendix F.
[g] Eddius, c. 16.

face[h], and his engaging Roman workmen to execute his buildings in England[i], are all recorded.

The companion of his first journey to Rome was St. Benedict Biscop, who rendered himself almost as famous in architecture as St. Wilfrid himself, by the grand Monastery and Church which he built at Weremouth, adorning them with religious images and pictures[k], and glazing the windows with glass, which he caused to be made upon the spot. But he, as well as St. Wilfrid, made frequent journeys to Rome, in order to improve his skill in architecture, and to procure from thence various articles he stood in need of for his church, which church he professed to build according to the *Roman fashion*[l]. Hence we are not sur-

[h] Eddius, c. 5.

[i] Appendix G.

[k] Bed. Hist. Abbat. Wiremuth.

[l] Ibid. With the express testimony of Bede and Eddius before our eyes, as to the use of glass windows by our Saxon ancestors in the seventh century, we may judge of the knowledge of Sir

prised to find, that when Naitan, King of the Picts, was desirous of erecting a church in his own country according to the *Roman style*, he should send to Ceolfrid, the friend and successor of Benedict, for architects to build it[m].

Not only the general style, but also the particular members, and even the minute decorations, of what is called Saxon architecture, were, in a general way, brought from Rome. The regular dimensions, the characteristical mouldings, the eggs and anchors, the caulicolæ and volutes, together with the whole of Grecian entablature, were laid aside, or nearly so, both in the

Christopher Wren, in the *History* of Architecture, when he asserts that "the windows of the Saxons were *latticed*. In the same place he says they were *very narrow*, contrary to what every one knows to have been the fact. In like manner he mentions the present Cathedral of Winchester and the Chapel in the Tower of London as having been built *before the Conquest*. Parentalia—Letter to Bishop of Rochester. In a subsequent passage of the same work he says, that "Glass began to be used" at the time when tracery work in windows was invented, which invention did not take place till the thirteenth century!"

[m] Appendix H.

East and in the West, before our Saxon ancestors had learned to build without them.

The taste for the regular orders, and the skill necessary for executing them, being lost, it was natural for the workmen of the times to leave out the more intricate and difficult parts of them, or to supply their place with others more simple and feasible. Hence, in copying the Corinthian order, which they most affected, they cut off the richer part of the foliage, leaving nothing but the stem, or the bottom of it, or else they substituted rude forms of men, animals, or other fanciful figures of easy execution for it. The well-known Saxon mouldings, the chevron or zig-zag, the billet, the cable, the embattled fret, the lozenge, the corbel table, and a variety of such other ornaments as are supposed to be peculiar to Saxon architecture, will be found, on close examination, to have had their architypes in some or other of

the buildings, medals, tessellated pave ments, or sepulchres of Italy, before they were adopted by our ancestors[n].

Though there is reason to believe that a great proportion of the fabric of many ancient churches in this country is of Saxon workmanship, yet, from the various changes they have undergone, it is difficult to ascertain which particular parts are actually so. Such specimens are rather to be looked for in remote and barren situations in the country, than in towns and rich districts: though, even in the country, the poorest churches have, in general, been altered in their windows, and at the East end of them. It is not, however, uncommon

[n] An example of the chevron ornament may be seen upon an inscribed Roman tablet in Gibson's Camden, p. 835. See pl. 2. *fig.* VIII. and of the billet moulding in the copy of a Mosaic in St. Mary's Church of the New City. See Ciampini. tom. II. pl. 53. See pl. 2. *fig.* IX. These being the two most common, and considered as the most characteristical Saxon decorations, they are here engraved. The cable occurs in the tessellated pavement at Colchester and elsewhere. Each one of the other mouldings is to be met with in the Roman Catacombs. [See the plates of Bosius and Arringhi, or in the Mosaics, copied by Ciampini.]

to meet with portals of churches, which, from their known dates, as well as from the manner of their building, may be pronounced Saxon. Such, for instance, is the door way of Essenden Church, near Stamford[o].

These portals are generally round-headed, and contain rude carvings in the circular part, whilst the door itself is of a square form. In other respects, Saxon fabrics are known by their comparatively small dimensions; by the thickness of their walls without buttresses, and the diminutive size of their windows, which have round heads and are without mullions, by certain low cones which frequently cover the towers and flank the corners of the buildings[p]; finally, by the coarseness of the work. But, though we cannot refer to any entire Saxon churches now existing in their ori-

[o] See a representation of it in the Ancient Architecture of England, vol. 1. pl. xx.

[p] Such cones are seen at the East end of St. Peter's Church, Oxford, built by St. Grimbald in the tenth century.

ginal state, yet we can shew genuine representations of them: such, for example, are those on the marble fonts of Winchester Cathedral[q], and of the neighbouring church of East Meon[r]. The latter, in particular, we are sure is a true representation, from the resemblance of it, and the accompanying figures with those of Rheims Cathedral, as it is known to have been built by Archbishop Ebbo in the ninth century[s].

Mr. Bentham, in the celebrated fifth section of his History of the Cathedral of Ely, at the same time that he has thrown much more light than any former writer on the architecture of the middle ages, and has vindicated it from the absurd reproaches of Somner, Stow, and other writers, purporting that the Saxons did not know

[q] See Pl. 2 fig. X. copied from the miscellaneous plate in the author's History of Winchester.

[r] See Pl. 2 fig. XI. copied from Archæolog. vol. x. pl. xxii.

[s] See an engraving of it in Montfaucon's Monarch Franc. pl. 28

how to make stone buildings or to raise arches upon pillars[t], has fallen far short of doing justice to his subject, and has exposed himself to the same reproaches which he makes to the two last mentioned writers. In the first place he denies that the Saxons were accustomed to raise high towers above the roofs of their churches, till about the tenth century[u], and yet a very antient author whom he has elsewhere quoted, Richard Prior of Hexham, describes the church of St. Mary at Hexham, which as well as the neighbouring Cathedral of St. Andrew was built by St. Wilfrid in the seventh century, as being furnished with a tower of a round or cupola form; from which, he says, four porticos or ailes proceeded. From this description we learn that its plan was not unlike the plan of

[t] This section is published apart in Mr. J. Taylor's Essays on Gothic Architecture.

[u] Page 29.

St. Sophia's Church at Constantinople, built nearly about the same time[x], and that the tower resembled the one which we see in the representation of the church of East Meon. The churches of Italy are proved to have had bell towers in the eighth century[y]. But to make an end of the matter; we are assured by that ancient and careful writer, Eadmer of Canterbury, that the ancient Cathedral of that city, as it existed, during the whole Saxon period, had two towers, one over the south, the other over the north transept[z]. The same writer, Mr. Bentham, makes use of other arguments to persuade us that the Saxon architects were unacquainted with the form of transepts or cross-aisles in their churches till the above-mentioned æra, the tenth century.

It would certainly be strange if that form which had been adopted in the east

[x] Appendix I.
[y] Appendix K.
[z] Appendix L.

in Italy[a], and in France[b], during so many prior ages should not have made its way into England during four hundred years after its conversion. But we have seen above that St. Mary's church at Hexham was built in the form of a cross so early as the seventh century, as likewise the metropolitical church of Canterbury. We are likewise informed that the latter church was built after the form of old St. Peters at Rome[c]. Now this, no less

[a] The magnificent church of the Apostles at Constantinople was built by Constantine in the form of a cross; as St. Gregory, Nazianzen, who had frequently seen it, testifies. So was another raised by him at Mambre. See Bingham's Antiquities of the Church, Vol. I. B. 8. Le Brun Explicat. de la Messe, &c.—Hence we discover the mistake of Mr. Whittington, where he says: "It may be doubted whether transepts were adopted in Chris-" tian buildings of the age of Constantine." Append. p. 176.

[b] The church built by St. Cesarius of Arles, in the sixth century, and that of S. S. Vincent, and Anastasius at Paris, were of the same shape. Fleury Hist. Eccl. L. 33.—Bercastel Hist. Eccl. &c.

[c] "Erat ipsa ecclesia (Cantuariensis) Romanorum opere facta, et ex quadam parte, ad imitationem ecclesiæ B. Petri, &c. Eadmer apud Gervas.—The imitation is here restricted, because, no doubt, our Metropolitical Church never was furnished with a double aisle on each side of the nave, like St. Peters. As this celebrated church was so much the object of veneration and of imitation to

than the basilic of St. Paul, which still subsists as it was rebuilt by Theodosius in the fourth century, was certainly constructed in the form of a cross. The same learned writer denies that the use of bells, at least of bells of the larger sort, can be traced higher than the century in question; and he supposes that the introduction of them occasioned the construction of towers to receive them, by way of belfries. It would be strange if our religious ancestors had remained whole centuries without adopting so useful and pleasing an invention of the country

our Saxon ancestors, we shall present the plan and interior view of it from Bonani Temp. Vaticani Hist. See Pl. III. Fig. XII. being the ground plan of St Peter's at Rome, as it had existed since the time of Constantine till it was taken down by Pope Julius II. copied from the archives of the Vatican. A. The Absis. —+The High Altar.—B. B. The Transepts or Cross Aisles.— C. C. The Nave.—D. D. E. E. The high side Aisles.—F. G. The low side Aisles.—H. The open Court in front of the Church — I. The Narthex or Penitents Porch or Galilee—K. L. The North and South Porches of the quadrangular Cloister. Fig. XIII. an interior view of old St. Peter's. The exterior of the western façade shews a mixture of what we should call indifferent Norman and pointed work, inserted in the orginal Roman work.

which they so often visited[d]. The use of small bells *nolæ*, in this country, if we may credit William of Malmsbury, may be traced as high as the fifth century[e]. And it is clear from Bede, that even those of the larger kind, *campanæ*, such as sounded in the air, and called a numerous congregation to divine service, were employed in England as early as the year 680, being that in which the Abbess Hilda died[f].

Nothing then is more glaringly absurd than to suppose that the Goths and other barbarous nations who overturned the Roman empire introduced what we call the Saxon or any other style of architecture instead of the prevailing one. It is almost as extravagant to

[d] See the note page 33, concerning the belfry built by P. Stephen.

[e] "Brigida domum, rediens (A. D. 488.) relictis ibi (Glastoniæ,) "perâ, monili, *nolâ*, textrilibus armis, quæ ibidem ad ejus me- "moriam resurvantur." Gul. Malm. de Antiqui, Glast.—"Pa- "triarcha Dewy (David) quatuor muneribus ditavit *insigni nolâ* "&c." Viz. circa an. 500 Ibid.

[f] Appendix N.

say, with the learned Bishop Warburton, that "the piety of the Saxon kings consisted "chiefly in building churches at home, "and in making pilgrimages abroad, espe- "cially to the Holy Land;" and that "they took the whole of their ideas of "architecture from the religious edifices "in Palestine, and particularly from the "church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem." This latter church according to Eusebius, was, as it is still, circular; now this form was exceedingly rare in our churches before the foundation of the Templars, in the twelfth century; on the other hand, not one of our Saxon kings or even prelates is known to have visited the Holy Land. In a word, it is demonstrated that architecture like the other arts of civil life, was inculcated to our ancestors by the Romans in the state in which they themselves practised it. Such was the state of things during the Saxon period, and down to the conquest; but not long after

this period, a new æra in architecture as well as in literature commenced. The most grand and beautiful improvements in the art of building were discovered and executed by those northern people, who have been reproached as the corrupters and destroyers of it. Then the scholars became the masters, and taught proud Italy the little she ever knew of the beauty and sublimity of the pointed style.

CHAP. III.

Devastation of the ecclesiastical structures of England and France, by the Danes and Normans.—Unexampled ardour of these invaders to restore Churches and Monasteries, upon their conversion to Christianity.—Almost all the Cathedrals and Abbeys of England rebuilt by the Normans.—This passion for Ecclesiastical Architecture produces improvements in it, and by degrees THE POINTED STYLE.

During the ninth and tenth centuries the civilized world, particularly the people of these islands and of France, were as much harassed and afflicted by new hordes of northern barbarians, as the former inhabitants, the Britons and Gauls, had been, four centuries earlier, by these very Saxons, Franks, and their kindred tribes, now become the most civilized and humane of christian nations. The latter invaders, who were indifferently called Danes and

Normans,[g] were even more cruel and destructive in their ceaseless incursions than the Goths and Vandals had been; because these were a sort of Christians, being half converted Arians, whilst the Danes and Normans, during the whole of their invasions, were savage barbarians, and professed persecutors of Christianity.[h] Few were the churches or monasteries in England, and throughout a great part of France, which were not demolished or laid waste by their fury. France by entering into a composition with them, and yielding up to them one of her fairest provinces, from this circumstance, since called Normandy, was much sooner delivered from the scourge than England was. This being effected, it is incredible with what ardour the French Princes, Nobles, and Bishops set about

[g] "Daci qui et Normanni." Hen. Hunting. L. III. "Dani "a suis nuncupantur Normanni, quia lingua eorum Boreas North "vocatur." Wilhelm. Lib. I. c. 4. Gemiticensis. De Ducib. Norm. Lib. I. C. 4.

[h] We are told that during the period in question, the following supplication was inserted in the litany: "A Normannorum furore libera nos Domine."

rebuilding or repairing their churches and other religious edifices. Robert, surnamed the Pious, who succeeded to the throne of France at the latter end of the tenth century, for his own share, built fourteen monasteries, and seven other churches.[i] But he and all the other Christians of that period were far outdone in this respect by the Normans, who from impious barbarians, were now become devout Christians, and the greatest encouragers of literature and the arts of any nation then existing. This appears incontestible from the number of monasteries [that is to say, of the schools, as well as the religious houses of those times] which they then raised. During the reign of our William I. in Normandy, previously to his invasion of England, he himself built two princely abbeys at Caen, that of St. Stephen and that of the Holy Trinity; and his nobles built thirty eight others in that single province,

[i] Fleury Hist. Eccl. L. 59, S. 20.

each of them striving to surpass the rest in the magnificence and elegance of his structure[k]. We may be sure that the prelates were not behindhand with the nobility in zeal for building and repairing religious edifices. The abbeys erected at this time in Normandy, particularly those of Bec and Caen, became the most celebrated schools throughout Christendom, and produced the most able men; as, for example, Pope Alexander II. Lanfranc, and St. Anselm of Canterbury, and particularly the best architects of the age. Indeed most of those Norman prelates, who rebuilt the different cathedrals of England during the latter part of the eleventh century, and the beginning of the twelfth, had

[k] "In illis diebus (Regnante in Normania Gulielmo I.°), maxima pacis tranquilitas fovebat habitantes in Normanniâ, et servi Deï á cunctis habebantur in summâ reverentiâ. Unusquis que optimatum certabat in prœdio suo ecclesias fabricare, &c. Primum igitur ponam ipsum ducem, patrem patriæ, qui monasterium S. Trinitatis, ædificavit Cadomi.—Rogerius de Montegomerii indignans videri in aliquo inferior suis comparibus ecclesias duas nobiliter construxtit, &c." Wilhet. Gemetic. De Ducib. Norm. C. 22.

been educated in one or other of these abbeys. Such were the Normans at the time when they entered England, being without question, the most valiant, magnificent, studious, enterprising, and religious people of the eleventh century; and we must add, they were the very flower of Normandy and the neighbouring provinces, both in church and state, who crossed the sea and settled in our island. The continent was despoiled to enrich England. The effect of this important change in it soon appeared in every sort of improvement, but most of all in architecture[1]. The great ecclesiastical benefices, as may well be supposed, very quickly became filled with Normans. When, having wealth at their command, they did not fail of indulging, to the utmost, their passion for erecting grand churches and monasteries. In a very short time almost every Saxon cathedral, some of which had been but lately rebuilt, was

[1] Appendix L.

demolished and replaced by a new one on a grander scale, and in a more noble style. At one and the same time these vast and costly works were carrying forward by Mauricius in London, Lanfranc at Canterbury, Thomas at York, Walkelin at Winchester, Gundulph at Rochester, Remigius at Lincoln[m], William at Durham, St. Wulstan at Worcester[n],

[m] This prelate having removed his see from Dorchester to Lincoln, chose for the model of his new cathedral that of Rouen, which had been rebuilt a little before by Archbishop Maurillus, who had been a monk of Fescamp, in Normandy. This church was dedicated three years before the Norman Conquest; namely, in 1063. "Remigius, constitutâ ecclesiâ, et salubriter constitutâ "juxta ritum Rhotomagensis Ecclesiæ quam sibi in singulis, "quasi exemplar, elegerat, &c." Girald. Cambren. in Vita Ep. Linc. Angl. Sac. p. 417. It is well known that a fire took place in this magnificent fabric, during the episcopacy of his next successor but one, Alexander, who himself was one of the greatest architects of his age. It seems, however, clear from Giraldus, that only the roof was consumed.

[n] St. Wulstan, who was a Saxon, though he found himself obliged to follow the general example in rebuilding his cathedral of Worcester in the new style of magnificence, yet appears to have done this unwillingly. When the former structure, raised by St. Oswald, was taken down, the historian tells us: "Lachrimas tenere nequivit et dixit. Nos miseri sanctorum "opera, destruimus ut nobis laudem comparemus. Non noverat "illa fœlicium virorum ætas pompaticas ædes construere, sed

Robert at Hereford[o], Herbert at Norwich, St. Anselm at Chester[p], Roger at Sarum, in short by almost every prelate of every then existing cathedral in England. The abbots would not be outdone by the bishops: accordingly far the greater part of the rich and ample monasteries, such as St. Augustines, at Canterbury,[q] St. Albans,[r] Evesham,[s] Glas-

" sub qualicunque tecto seipsos Deo immolarunt. Nos, e contra " nitimar, ut animarum negligentes curam, accumulemus lapides." Gul. Malm. De Pont. L. 4. There cannot be a stronger proof than this passage affords of the increased magnificence of Norman architecture.

[o] " Robertus de Losinga ecclesiam suam Herefordensem de " novo construxit, et ad exemplar Aquisgranensis à Carolo " Magno extructæ efformandam curavit." Godwin. p. 480.

[p] Hugh Lupus, the great Earl of Chester, sent for St. Anselm, then Prior of Bec, to give directions for the building of the church and monastery of St. Werburgh, at Chester, which the founder was resolved to fill with monks from Bec. Malm. De Pontif. L. 1.

[q] A. D. 1074. " Abbas monasterie St. Augustini Cantuaræ " Scotlandus, (Normannus,) ad dilatandum monasterii sui tem- " plum largum extendit animum, &c." Gul. Thorn. Chron. Twysd. p. 1790.

[r] " Abbatiam St. Albani, per Paulum Abbatem in eum quo " nunc est statum (Lanfrancus) provexit. Malms. De Pont.

[s] A. D. 1077. Walter, a monk of Ceresia, became abbot of Evesham, and "being taken with the *new way of building*, he

tonbury[t], Malmsbury[u], Ely[x], St. Edmundbury[y], &c. were rebuilt in the whole or in a considerable part of them, with a zeal and an emulation in their builders, which had never before been equalled in any age or country of the world, and which could not fail of leading to improvements in an art not then subject to fixed rules. In short, all the great abbeys throughout the

" destroyed the old church, which was looked upon as one of the finest of its kind in England, and began a new one." Leland Collect. Tom. 1.

[t] Turstin, a monk of Caen, became abbot of Glastonbury in 1077, and began to rebuild the church of the monastery. He was succeeded in 1097, by Herlewin, who had been educated in the same Norman monastery; and who, "conceiving that the church be-" gun by his predecessor did not correspond with the grandeur of " his abbey, took it down to the ground, and began to build a " new one." Antiq. Glaston. Gale. p. 333.

[u] It appears from William of Malmsbury, that some great and expensive works were carried on at the church of his monastery by its Norman abbots, particularly by Warinus De Lyra. De Pontif. L. v.

[x] Vid. Thomam Eliens. Ang. Sac. T. 1. p. 611.

[y] Browne Willis. vol. 1. p. 85. N.B. The church of St. Edmund, at Bury, was not finished and dedicated for the first time till the year 1020, yet such was the rage for Norman improvements, that Baldwin, who became abbot of it only 40 years afterwards, namely, in 1065, took it down and rebuilt it in the prevailing taste. Leland Itin. V. 11. p. 165.

English realm, seem to have been rebuilt soon after the Norman Conquest; that is to say, during the latter part of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth except Westminster, Gloucester, Waltham, and some few others very lately erected, at which time, from the connections of the sovereign and many of the prelates and nobles with Normandy, the refinements of that country had begun to gain a footing in England. A regard for their own safety after the conquest, and the orders of their master, spurred on the Norman lay barons to equal diligence in building castles with that of the great clergy in erecting churches[z].

But in what did this *novum ædificandi genus*, this improved manner of building, introduced by the Normans, consist?—Certainly not in its general style. We have

[z] "Ad Castra construenda (Rex Wilhelmus) omnes fatigabat," Huntingdonens. Vid. Chron. Saxon. A. D. 1086. Rudborne Hist. Major. L. v. c. 1.

evident proofs that the general plan of their sacred edifices, as well as their arches, piers, capitals, shafts, bases, mouldings, doors, and windows, was much the same as it had been since the first introduction of christianity into the island; in other words, it was an imperfect imitation of Roman or Grecian architecture. But, in the first place, the dimensions of their structures were, in general, much larger than those of the Saxons had been. We are expressly assured of this by the intelligent Malmsbury[a]; and we have other satisfactory proofs of it. With respect to the length, in particular, of their respective churches, we find, for example, that the Saxon cathedral of Dunwich was only 120 feet long, by 24 wide[b]. In like man-

[a] "Angli parvis et abjectis domibus totos sumptus absume-"bant. Franci et Normanni amplis et superbis edificiis mo-"dicas expensas agunt." Domi ingentia Ædificia, &c. Malm. L. iii. De Reg. p. 102.

[b] See the plan and account of it, by Mr. Wilkins, Archæol. V. xii. p. 166.

ner we see, by the vestiges of the ancient cathedrals of Sherborn, Dorchester, and other Saxon churches, that they were in general comparatively small. The celebrated abbey church of Abingdon was only 120 feet long:[c] whereas the magnificent Normans were not satisfied, either in their cathedral or grand abbatial churches, with a length of less than from three to five hundred feet. The cathedrals of York and Lincoln were, each of them built by their Norman Founders, 490 feet long. Walkelyn's church at Winchester, as built by himself, was 500 feet long. The Abbey church of St. Alban, as built under the direction of the great Lanfranc, was 600 feet long;[d] while

[c] Monasticon.—It may be here observed, that most of the churches on the continent, till near the time in question, had also been comparatively small. The celebrated church of St. Agnan, at Orleans, which was dedicated in 1029, was only 252 French feet long. The antient church of St. Clement, at Rome, exclusively of the exterior court and exedræ, was barely 180 such feet; while the wonder of the world, as St. Sophia was considered, independently of the exedræ, is barely 270 French feet long. See the plan of it in Du Frenes Familia Bysant.

[d] Browne Willis, Mitred Abbeys, Vol. I. p. 14.

the high-minded Mauritius, to the surprise even of his contemporaries[e], extended old St. Paul's, of London, to the length of 690 feet[f]. Nor was it only great length, but also great height, that the Norman architects affected. It is true the Saxon church of St. Andrew at Hexham, and perhaps some others, were three stories high[g]; there is, however, reason to conclude from the remains of some Saxon churches, and the representation of others[h], that they were seldom above two stories high, and those not very lofty; whereas the churches built by the Normans frequently rose to the height of 100 feet and more beneath the main beams[i]. The extraordinary height of the walls required buttresses to support them on the outside, and frequently torus's,

[e] Malms. De Pont. Londin.

[f] Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's.

[g] "Parietes tribus tabulatis distinctos" Ric. Hagulst.

[h] See the above engravings of the churches, carved on Winchester and Westmeon fonts, &c. Pl. II. Fig. X.

[i] Old St. Paul's was 102 feet. York Minster is 99 feet high, up to the crown of the arches, beneath the girders.—Of course they were much higher before they were vaulted.

running up from the basement to the plates in the inside.[k] These buttresses were, at their first adoption, broad, thin, shelving upwards in regular breaks, and quite unornamented. They are amongst the characteristics of Norman buildings.[l] The Norman work, in general, was executed with much greater firmness and neatness than that of the Saxons. Previously to the conquest, we constantly read of churches, of no long standing, being out of repair; whereas several Norman structures, as for example, the tower and transept of Winchester cathedral, after standing above 700 years, bid fair, with moderate care, to stand as many hundred years more. The Norman windows and portals were much larger, and better proportioned than those which preceded them and were generally supported by columns at the sides; their mouldings also, and other carvings,

[k] This may be seen for example, in the transepts, or cross aisles of Winchester cathedral.

[l] These also may be seen, without any subsequent alteration, on the outside of the North cross aisle of Winchester cathedral.

though not essentially different from those of the Saxons, were far better designed and executed. In short, next to the effect of sublimity, what these ingenious and indefatigable architects chiefly aimed at, in their religious structures, was beauty. An equal attention to these two effects did, by degrees, produce a perfectly new style in architecture, properly called, THE POINTED STYLE, being one of the greatest efforts of human genius, that has been witnessed in the course of ages. But, before we proceed to give an account of the rise and progress of this style, let us examine the theories of other writers on the same subject.

CHAP. IV.

Mistakes of other writers concerning the origin of the Pointed Style—Of Mr. Evelyn—Of Sir Christopher Wren and his followers—Of Mr. Murphy—Of the Rev. Mr. Whittington—Of bishop Warburton.—Of Mr. Smirke, jun.—Of Sir James Hall, &c.

It has been seen above that Sir Christopher Wren, and Mr. Evelyn, speaking generally of the architecture of the middle ages, under the opprobrious term of *Gothic*, describe the pointed, no less than the circular, style which prevailed in them, as being the real invention of Goths and other barbarians. The latter of these writers, as quoted with applause by the former, says, " The Goths " and Vandals, having demolished the Greek " and Roman architecture, *introduced* in its " stead a certain fantastical and licentious " manner of building, which we have since

" called modern, or Gothic,—of the greatest " industry and expensive carving, full of " fret and lamentable imagery, sparing nei- " ther pains nor cost[m]." We here clearly see that Mr. Evelyn, whose ingenuity and judgment are so much applauded by Sir Christopher Wren, in return for the praises the former bestows upon him, confounds together two different, or rather opposite styles, belonging to different periods; the one being as remarkable for its lightness, as the other is for its heaviness; the one being pointed, the other round, and that he really believes both of them to be the genuine invention of the barbarians who destroyed the Roman empire. It is sufficient for the present purpose to remark, that the Goths and Vandals, who overturned the Empire of Rome, early in the fifth century, were themselves, with their very name, crusht and swept off from the civilized world in the

[m] Parentalia.

course of the sixth century;[n] whereas the pointed style, which is the subject of the present enquiry, by the confession of all writers, did not make its appearance in it till the twelfth century.

At the same time that Sir Christopher Wren commends the system of his friend, he himself departs from it. He will not have this style called *Gothic*, but *Saracenic*; and he professes to trace it, not to the Northern Goths and Vandals, but to the Eastern Arabs and Saracens. He says, "What we now "vulgarly call the Gothic, ought, properly "and truly, to be named Saracenic architec- "ture, refined by the Christians, which first

[n] The Ostrogoths entered Italy, under their king Alaric, in the year of Christ 400, and in the same year the Emperor Honorius yielded up to the Visigoths Gaul and Spain. In 409 the Vandals also established themselves in Spain; whence, in 427, they passed over to the Roman provinces in Africa, of which they soon rendered themselves masters. In 506 Clovis, King of the Franks, extinguished the power of the Goths in France. In 534, the Emperor Justinian put an end to the power and the name of the Vandals in Africa; and in 553 to the power and name of the Goths in Italy. In Spain alone the name of the Goths remained till 713, when Rodoric, its King, was killed, and the greater part of Spain was seized upon by the Moors.

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" of all began in the East, after the fall of the " Greek empire[o]. The Holy War gave the " Christians who had been there an idea of " the Saracen works, which were afterwards " by them imitated in the West." This system of a Saracenic origin of the pointed style has, out of mere compliment to the name of its author, been adopted by bishop Louth[p], Riou, Warton, Grose, and the generality of modern writers, who have had occasion to enter upon the subject.

In refutation of Sir Christopher's system, it may be observed that the first, or grand crusade, in which the Conqueror's son Robert, the Earl of Albemarle, and many other Normans and Englishmen, amongst a million of other Europeans of different countries,

o Every one knows that the Greek Empire fell by the reduction of Constantinople and Trebizond, under the arms of Mahomet II. in 1453. But it would be a vain attempt to render Sir Christopher's *history* of Architecture consistent, either with the truth, or with itself.

p See his account of the architecture of Winchester Cathedral, in the Life of William of Wykeham, and the observations on this account, in the author's History of Winchester, Vol. II.

were engaged, took place in the eleventh century. It began in 1096, and terminated by the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. Now nothing is more certain, and evident, than that the crusaders did not bring back with them into England or Europe, a single feature of the pointed style, since the churches built subsequent to that period; as for example, the ancient parts of Exeter[q] and Rochester[r] cathedrals, and the Abbey Church of Reading[s], &c. do not, in their original works, exhibit one of these features. If any individual, of that period, might be expected to have brought back with him into Europe, this supposed Eastern style, it was the celebrated monk of Bec Abbey, Gundulphus, who afterwards became Bishop of Rochester. He was the most celebrated practical architect of his age[t]. In fact, he built the cathedral church

[q] Built by B. Warwelast, in 1107.

[r] Built by b. Gundulph, about 1100.

[s] A. D. 1125.

[t] "Episcopus Gundulphus in opere cæmentarii plurimum sciens "et efficax erat." Ernulph de Roffen. Ecc. Angl. Sac. Tom. i. p. 338.

and monastery, and also the castle of Rochester, which latter he made a free gift of to William Rufus[u]; likewise Malling Abbey, the chapel within the keep of London Tower, and several other churches. Now this eminent builder had made a journey of devotion to the Holy Land[x], (in company with William, who afterwards became Archbishop of Rouen, and was himself one of the architects of its cathedral) a little before the first crusade, and, of course, surveyed the buildings of that country at his leisure. Yet in vain do we examine his subsisting works at Rochester, and in London, for an arch, a pillar, or a moulding, in the style under consideration. Secondly, from the accounts and drawings of the most intelligent and accurate virtuosi, such as Pocock, Norden, Shaw, Le Bruyn, &c. who have visited the Holy Land, and other countries frequented by the crusaders, it does not appear, as Bentham and Grose

[u] Ernulph. de Roffen. Ecc. Angl. Sac. Tom. i. p. 338.
[x] Monach. Roffen. Vit. Gund. Ang. Sac. p. 274.

remark, that a single building, or ruin, except one church at Acre, is to be found in this style[y], and very rarely such a thing as a mere pointed arch. It has been conjectured that this church was built by some European Christian, and the writer flatters himself that he has discovered the name of this European; and that he was an Englishman, who accompanied the Crusade under our Richard I.[z] In fact the architecture of it exactly corresponds with that of St. Hugh of Lincoln, Godfrey De Lucy, and other builders of that period, having long lancet windows, slender cluster columns, and corresponding ornaments. If we proceed further East, namely into Persia, we find indeed the pointed arch, in a few bridges, and other

[y] See a print of it in Voyage to the Levant, by Cornelius Le Bruyn. p. 164.

[z] "Cum primum Achon obsessa fuisset capellanus quidam, nomine Willelmus, natione Anglicus, votum vovit, quod si, prospero cursu Achon intraret, B. Martyri Thomæ capellam construeret; quod ita factum est." Mat. Paris, A.D. 1190. Peter de Rupibus, Bishop of Winchester, in the reign of Henry III. left money to this church.

public buildings: but we have no records to attest the date of any of these; and we have otherwise sufficient reason to believe them to be posterior, not only to Gengis Khan[a], in the 13th century, but also to Tamerlane in the 15th, both of whom swept off from that country all its monuments, and a great part of its inhabitants; hence these arches could not have been models of European pointed architecture. In India there are several Mausoleums, and other buildings, with the cinquefoil arch, and other decorations, which might seem to belong to the latest order of the pointed style. But these are confessedly of a very recent date.[a] There is no account at all of the building of the temple of Madura, which also has some resemblance with our pointed architecture[b]. It appears, however, not to be very ancient. The original style of India, as it appears in their stupendous excavations, and other an-

[a] See Daniel's Indian Views.
[b] Ibid.

cient works[c], is much the same with the primitive style of Egypt. The columns are circular, with huge heavy capitals and bases, still not without pretensions to ornament[d]. After all we may safely pronounce that these specimens in Egypt, the mother country of Athens, were the origin of the Grecian orders, and the primeval architecture of mankind.

Mr. Murphy, to whom the admirers of pointed architecture are indebted for his elegant views of the church of Batalha in Portugal, with his account of it, conjectures that the idea of pointed architecture was borrowed from the pyramids[e]. This is to trace its origin to Egypt. But the pyramids may be said, upon an average, to have been raised 3000 years ago; whereas pointed architecture is not yet 700 years old, and they

[c] See Daniel's Views.

[d] See in Pocock's Travels the columns at Carmach in Egypt; and in the late work of Denon, the French Sçavant, the ruins of the temples of Hermopolis, Thebes and Elephantis.

[e] Introductory Discourse on the principles of Gothic Architecture.

were forgotten, and almost unknown, at the time when it appeared. Again, pediments and gable ends must have been coeval with building itself, in every age and country; and therefore may be called the parents of pointed architecture, with more apparent reason than the pyramids. A circumstance, much more favourable to the pretensions of Egypt, is, that there is an ancient hall in the castle of Cairo, called Joseph's Hall, with regular high-pointed arches, and corresponding columns[f]. The inhabitants suppose this to have been built by the Patriarch Joseph; but Niebuhr, and Lord Valentia, give sufficient reason to suppose that it was built by the great Saladin, the rival of our Richard I. whose real name was Jussuff, or Joseph[g]. In this supposition, we may safely say that he employed some of his European prisoners, or other stragglers from the third

[f] See the View of it, by Mr. Salt, in Lord Valentia's Travels; also Luigo Meyers' Views.

[g] Lord Valentia's Travels, Vol. III. p. 311.

crusade, to erect this hall in the pointed style of the age.

It appears from a work lately published[h], that an ingenious young writer, the Rev. Mr. Whittington, and his Right Honorable Editor, have surveyed, (by means of prints) the architecture of the East, with different eyes from those of all former writers and travellers. The latter says, "All Eastern buildings, as far back as they go, have pointed arches, and are in the same style.[i]" "If a line be drawn from the north of the Euxine, through Constantinople to Egypt, we shall discover, in every country to the eastward of this boundary, frequent examples of the pointed arch, accompanied with the slender proportions of Gothic Architecture[k]."

[h] An Historical Survey of the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of France, quarto, 1809.

[i] Pref. p. 6.—Denon, who is an accurate observer, and writes from what he has seen, speaking of the Turkish Architecture, says, "Every province has its own taste: it has no fixed principles or rules."

[k] Ibid. p. 11.

It is impossible to conceive upon what ground the writer makes this strange assertion, except on account of the misshapen minarets and obelisks, which the Mahometans add to their mosques, for the conveniency of calling upon the people from them to come to prayer, as they reject the use of bells. The writer acknowledges that he does not know the dates of these erections, nor is it of any consequence to the present question that they should be known. Thus much, however, we know, that the edifice of St. Sophia at Constantinople, erected in the seventh century, (which he acknowledges to have been the model of the Mahometans, since they became masters of it, in the 15th century, in building their mosques) has neither a pointed arch nor a pinnacle in the whole of its original work[1]. But, adds this writer, " Is it at all pro- " bable that the dark ages of the West,

[1] See Views of it in Du Cange's Famil. Bysant. also Pl. II. *fig.* VII.

" should have given a mode of architecture " to the East[m]?" If there is any force in this suggestion, we may, with equal reason, deny that bells, organs, the gamut, or musical scale, optical glasses, gunpowder, the compass, printing, &c. were discovered in the dark ages of the West, and we ought to search amongst the barbarians of the East for their invention. The fact is, that between the fifth and the sixteenth centuries, the most enlightened was that in which pointed architecture was discovered; namely, the twelfth century; and that during this, particularly in the reigns of Henry I. Henry II. and Richard I. the natives of this realm, which then included the finest provinces of France, were, without dispute, the greatest people existing.

Bishop Warburton, whose bad success in accounting for the origin of Saxon Architecture, has been seen above, speaking of the

[m] Pref. p. 6.

pointed style, endeavours to unite the two refuted systems, that which derives it from the Northern Goths, and the other which brings it from the Eastern Saracens, at the same time that he assigns the Western peninsula of Europe (Spain) for the place of its birth. The following is what he says on the subject: " When the Goths had con-
" quered Spain and the genial warmth of the
" climate, and the religion of the old inhabi-
" tants had ripened their wits and inflamed
" their mistaken piety, (both kept in exer-
" cise by the neighbourhood of the Saracens,
" through emulation of their service, and
" aversion to their superstition) they struck
" out a new species of Architecture, unknown
" to Greece and Rome. For this northern
" people, having been accustomed, during the
" gloom of paganism, to worship the Deity in
" groves, (a practice common to all nations)
" when their new religion required covered
" edifices, they ingeniously projected to
" make them resemble groves as nearly as

" the distance of architecture would " permit; at once indulging their old " prejudices, and providing for their pre- " sent conveniences, by a cool receptacle " in a sultry climate; and with what skill " and success they executed their project, " by the assistance of Saracen architects, " whose exotic style of building very luckily " suited their purpose, appears from hence, " that no attentive observer ever viewed a " regular avenue of well grown trees, inter- " mixing their branches overhead, but is " presently put in mind of the long visto " through a Gothic cathedral, &c[a]." Having amused ourselves with this reverie, let us now attend to facts. The Goths and Vandals entered Spain in the year 409: they did not, however, acquire " a new religion there " from the old inhabitants," for they were previously Christians, though Arians. On the other hand, the Moorish Saracens did not enter Spain till three hundred years af-

[a] Notes on Pope's Epistles

terwards, namely, till the year 712, and they ever afterwards continued in a state of the most determined hostility against the Christian Spaniards, whom they cooped up in the mountains of Asturias. It is easy to gather, from these simple facts, the multiplied and gross errors of Bishop Warburton's system. Let us, however, suppose, in conformity with this system, that the Spanish Goths had retained an idea of their pagan worship in the woods of Germany, during 400 years, till the arrival of the Moors; and that, afterwards, they kept to themselves the secret of pointed architecture, during 400 years longer: certain it is that when once this system broke in upon the English and the French, in the twelfth century, it would have made its appearance at once amongst them, with all its characteristical features of equilateral pointed arches, connected cluster columns, crocketed pinnacles, and the other dressings of this style, contrary to what we know to be the

fact. With respect to the inhabitants of the Western peninsula, so far from their practising tracery work, imitating the interlacing of trees, several hundred years before our ancestors; it seems that the latter were their masters in the art of executing this above two hundred years, after they themselves had learnt it; since a subject of this kingdom was chosen to direct the building of the above-mentioned magnificent church of Batalha, in the fourteenth century°. After all, the intersection of tracery work is almost the only circumstance in which it resembles the intermixing boughs of trees growing together. The ribs of a groin do not grow smaller, as they extend

° It was built by John King of Portugal, in 1388, David Hackett, an Irishman, being the principal architect. See Murphy's account. We admire the style of Batalha, as a pleasing variety from our cotemporary buildings of Winchester cathedral, St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, &c. but we by no means put it in comparison with them, upon the general principles of beauty and sublimity. The boasted cathedral of Burgos, built in 1221, is more gorgeous but by no means so elegant as its cotemporary cathedral of Salisbury, and far less awful than our more ancient cathedral of Lincoln.

themselves like vegetable shoots, nor do the latter, when they cross each other, form large knobs like the bosses of architecture. Again, the trunk which supports the boughs is generally a simple upright, not a cluster of supporters; nor has it any thing resembling either capitals or bases.

Having followed different guides North, East and West, in search of the primitive pointed style, we have latterly been invited by an ingenious artist to accompany him to the cradle of modern arts in the South, namely, to Italy, with the promise that he will there point out to us much earlier specimens of this style than our Northern climates afford. In the year 1805, Mr. Smirke, junior, laid before the Society of Antiquaries, certain drawings, since engraved[p], of the dressings of a window belonging to the cathedral of Messina,

[p] Archæologia, Vol. XV. p. 363, &c.

in the richest and most elegant taste of the third or last order of the pointed style. These he represents as the work of Roger Earl of Sicily, in the eleventh century. He presented another drawing of the celebrated baptistery of Pisa, avowedly built by Dioti Salvi in 1152 [q], consisting of what we should call Roman and Saxon work, intermixed with crocketed pediments and pinnacles, such as were not in use amongst us till the thirteenth century. Lastly, Mr. Smirke exhibited a view of the beautiful Cloyster of the Campo Santo, adjoining the cathedral, and erected in the year 1278. Here we see the richest tracery mullions under semicircular arches, being a mixture of styles which never prevailed at any period whatever in these countries. These exhibitions seem to have gained

[q] It was begun in 1152 and finished in 1160. We have a full and interesting history and account of the cathedral, baptistery and Campo Santo of Pisa, enriched with excellent plates, by Joseph Martini, a canon of that cathedral, in his Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanæ. Folio.

many partisans to the claim of Italy, and amongst others, to a certain degree, the ingenious Mr. Dalaway, who says, "The "Baptistery at Pisa, by Dioti Salvi, is "the great prototype of arches, pedi- "ments, and those ornamental particles "which are now confined to the Gothic "style[r]."

It has been already observed that there is no error which the architectural student has so much to guard against, when he surveys ancient buildings, as the confounding of subsequent alterations with the original work. There are few critics in this matter who would not start at the first sight of Mr. Smirke's drawings as at a creation of fancy, or an incongruous assemblage of works executed at periods considerably distant from each other; but it was reserved for Sir Henry Englefield's profound knowledge of the subject and critical acumen to detect the pointed en-

[r] Observations on English architecture. Pref. p. 4.

richments with which some later architect has decorated the plain circular work of Dioti in the Baptistery and of John of Pisa, in the Campo Santo.

This he has done to the entire satisfaction of his scientific readers[s]. In confirmation of this learned gentleman's remarks, we find that in the year 1303 [with the style of which period these additions very well agree] an architect, one Burgundius Taddi, added some new members to the exterior of this building, as an inscription upon it still testifies[t]. By way of supporting his system, in favour of the Italic origin of pointed architecture, Mr. Smirke next brought forward the upper part of the pediment of the cathedral itself, built by Bruschettus, a century before the building of the Baptistery, namely, in 1063[u]. This

[s] Archæol. Vol. XV. p. 367, &c.

[t] Theatrum Basil. Pisanæ p. 14, &c.

[u] The Church of St. Mark, at Venice, was built about the same time with that of Pisa, namely, in 1071, in the form of a

pediment consists of narrow circular arches, supported by Grecian columns, and surmounted with a coping, charged with crockets, and three elegant and spirited statues. With the exception, however, of the usual triangular form of the pediment and the crockets, which Mr. Smirke, may possibly, from the imperfection of his original sketches, have placed in a situation to which they do not belong[x]; there is not a

Greek cross surmounted with cupolas. It was evidently formed on the model of the Church of St. Sophia. The same operation has been performed upon it as upon the baptistery and cupola of the Cathedral of Pisa, namely, crocketed pediments and pinnacles have been inserted in it. In consequence of its present appearance, Sir C. Wren calls it *a Saracen church.* But the critic who can admit that these pointed ornaments belonged to the original structure, is capable of believing that the four famous horses by Lysippus, which have followed the course of victory from Greece to Rome, thence to Constantinople, thence to Venice (where during many ages they adorned the portal of this church) and lastly to Paris, made part of it's original design of St. Marks.

[x] Should Mr. S. still contend that the crockets are actually seen on the coping of the pediment, and (which is the only question of any consequence) that they formed part of the original work of Dioti, then he must equally say, that the three elegant and spirited statues which now ornament it, are the pro-

feature in this pediment which belongs to the pointed style any more than there is in the general style of the exterior and interior of the church itself, and of the campanile or leaning tower, which latter was built by William, a German architect, in 1174. Together with the abovementioned drawing of the pediment, Mr. Smirke presented one of the church towers of Li Frari, at Venice[y]. This shews the circular arch and the intersecting circular arch, together with the corbel table, &c. in its uppermost story, with rows of slightly pointed arches in the three lower stories. But what is the date of this tower? The ingenious artist tells us that it was begun in 1234, a period corresponding with the building of Salisbury cathedral. In a word, this plate, instead

duction of the year 1063!—The fact is, the whole roof of this magnificent structure, from the cupola to the West end, was burnt down in 1569, as Martini informs us, with which date (on repairing the cathedral) the style of the statues, &c. perfectly well agrees.

[y] Archæol. Vol. XV. p. 25.

of proving that the Italians were beforehand with us in pointed architecture, shews how much they were behind us both as to time and execution. Indeed Mr. Smirke himself acknowledges that, "the examples "of the pointed kind are in a more mixed "and unformed character of design in Italy; "a defect that may be ascribed to the aspect "which the face of that country, different "from all others, formerly presented with "regard to more ancient architectural re-"mains." This passage, if I understand it, means that the Italians never excelled in pointed architecture, being attached to the Roman manner, in consequence of the numerous examples of it they had every where before their eyes: an opinion in which the writer perfectly agrees with the ingenious artist [z].

[z] Amongst the several altars and tombs in the pointed style which existed in the Old Vatican, and which are exhibited by Ciampini, being all of them very imperfect and poor, we have selected the tomb raised by Boniface VIII. because the name of the architect and its date, 1290, are ascertained. See Pl. IV. *fig.* XV.

Other systems respecting the origin of pointed architecture, do not seem to affix it to any particular country, and are still more fanciful than those which have been examined. Sir James Hall, Bart. having observed that wands which are bound fast to posts, fixed in the earth, may be so bent and fastened together as to represent cluster columns and tracery vaulting, thinks the idea of pointed architecture was some where or another borrowed from the sight of such basket work[a]! Lord Orford, quoted by Mr. Dallaway, says, that "The "style was first peculiar to shrines, and "then was peculiar to churches[b]." But where did the shrine makers learn it? Mr. Payne Knight makes an absolute medley of the business, pronouncing that, "The "style of architecture, which we call "cathedral or monastic Gothic, is mani-

[a] Essay on the origin and principles of Gothic Architecture, in the Transac. Royal Soc. Edinburgh, Vol. III.

[b] Observations on English Architecture, p. 5.

" festly a corruption of the sacred archi-
" tecture of the Greeks or Romans, by a
" mixture of the Moorish or Saracenesque,
" which is formed out of a combination of
" Egyptian, Persian, and Hindoo [c] !"

[c] Enquiry into the principles of Taste, p. 162.

CHAP. V.

The real origin of the Pointed Style—The occasion, time, and place of its invention.

But why should we wander into every remote country in the known world, and into the regions of fancy, in search of an invention which belongs to our own climate? And for what purpose should we take so much pains to prove a plant to be an imported exotic which we actually see sprouting up and attaining its full growth in our own garden? Let us now go back to the point from which we started, for the purpose of running down the different false systems. We have seen that the greatest people, without dispute, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the conquerors of France, England, Italy, Sicily, and of

different countries in the East, namely, the Normans, were possessed of the most ardent passion for ecclesiastical architecture of any nation upon record, and that they vied with each other in the grandeur and beauty of their respective structures. For the former of these effects, grandeur, we observed that they gave to their churches the greatest length and heighth in their power; for the latter, beauty, they enriched them with a variety of architectural ornaments, several of which appear to be of their own invention. The most common of these was the arcade, or series of arches with which some of their buildings [as for example, the outside of St. Osyth's and St. Botolph's conventual churches in Essex[d], and the inside of Durham, on the basement story] were covered over, and which occur more or less on all their cathedral and conventual churches extant. These arcades were diversified many ways, as

[d] See Pl. V. *fig.* 24, 25.

may be particularly seen on the tower of St. Augustine's monastery in Canterbury, built by its first Norman Abbot, Scotlandus, in 1080[e]. One of these varieties consisted in making the semicircular arches (such as all nations, Grecians, Romans, and Saxons, had hitherto built) intersect each other in the middle[f]. The part thus intersected formed a new kind of arch, of more graceful appearance and far better calculated to give an idea of height than the semicircular arch: for every one must be convinced that a pyramid or obelisk,

[e] Chronicon. Will. Thorn apud Twysd. Col. 1789.

[f] There is no proof that Tickencote and other ancient churches on which these intersecting arches appear, were built before the Norman conquest, much less that these ornaments are not a subsequent addition; and there is good reason to judge from William of Malmsbury's account of his own monastery in particular, that the intersecting arches still seen there were made by Abbot Warin de Lira, a Norman, in 1080. It is worthy of observation, that in the famous tapestry of Bayeux, representing the conquest of England, and said to have been wrought by the Conqueror's mother, and engraved by Montfaucon and Ducarel, though several churches, palaces, shrines, and other arched work are seen in it, there is not the least appearance of intersecting arches, much less of a pointed one.

from its aspiring form, appears to be taller than the diameter of a semicircle, when both are of the same measure. These plain and intersecting arcades were sometimes placed in alternate rows, as in Remigius's work on the façade of Lincoln cathedral; and sometimes irregularly intermixed, as on the North side of Durham cathedral. The pointed arch, thus formed, appeared at first a mere ornament in basso relievo, as in the abovementioned instances, but very soon it was also seen in alto relievo, over niches and recesses in the inside of churches, as in the remains of the Cathedral of Canterbury, built by Lanfranc[g], and in the ab-

[g] It appears from Gervase, the monk of this cathedral monastery, that Lanfranc rebuilt the whole of it about the year 1085, and that the fire which took place in the roof of its choir in 1174, did not destroy the whole of the parts adjoining to it. From this circumstance and an examination of the work itself, we may safely pronounce that the recess here spoken of in the wall of the South aisle, adjoining the choir, is a remaining part of the work of Lanfranc. Twysd. Col. 1293. This pointed arch, which accompanies other circular ones of the true Saxon fashion, is represented at Pl. IV. *fig.* XVI. It is copied from Pl. XXXVI. Part I. of Mr. Carter's Ancient Architecture of England.

bey churches of Glastonbury[h] and Rumsey[i]. It is probable that the first open pointed arches, in Europe, were the twenty windows constructed by that great patron of architecture, Henry De Blois[k], brother of King Stephen, and Bishop of Winchester, in the Choir of the church of St. Cross, near that city; which structure he certainly raised be-

[h] Abbot Herlewin, who died in 1120, began to rebuild the whole of Glastonbury Abbey, as Malmsbury informs us, De Antiquit. Glaston. Ecc. Six years after this date, Henry De Blois became Abbot of it. Hence it is not unlikely that the intermixed pointed and circular work exhibited by Mr. Carter, in the abovementioned plate, were executed under his directions.

[i] The conventual church of Rumsey, first built by Edward the Elder, was rebuilt by King Edgar; but it was so much augmented and ornamented by Bishop De Blois, whose niece Mary, the daughter of King Stephen, became a nun there, that Warton and other writers describe him as the founder of it. The arches here copied from Mr. Carter, were probably made by him very soon after he built St. Cross. Pl. IV. *fig.* XVII. He seems not to have had either the means or the disposition to raise great buildings after the civil war began between his brother Stephen and his cousin, the Empress Maud.

[k] He is described by his contemporary, Giraldus Cambrensis, in his Copula Tergemina, as a prince of the most active and enterprizing mind, particularly in undertaking works of art, which seemed impracticable to other men. See a specimen of the windows in the choir of St. Cross, Pl. IV. *Fig.* XVIII.

tween the years 1132 and 1136[1]. These consist of openings, made in the intersected parts of semicircular arches, which cross each other. The ocular evidence of this, taken along with the ascertained date of the work, is a sufficient proof that, to the accidental Norman ornament of intersecting arcades, we are indebted for the invention of pointed arches, and pointed architecture. If any man chooses to dispute the proof, he cannot at least deny the fact, that open pointed arches, to the number of twenty, were seen together under intersecting arches, in an English church, between the years 1132 and 1136. As the above mentioned prelate

[1] Godwin De Præsul. Angl. says, that he built St. Cross in 1132, Bishop Lowth, who had examined the archives of this foundation, says in 1136. Probably the choir, which is evidently the older part, and all that was requisite for the use of the original establishment, was begun in the former year, and finished in the latter. The date of 1136 agrees with the testimony of Rudborne, the Monk of Winchester, in his Historia Major, who says, "Hoc "anno, (1136) Henricus Wyntoniensis Episcopus incœpit facere "domos de Wulvesey et alias in maneriis pertinentibus ad episco- "patum Wintoniæ, et similiter Hospitale Sanctæ Crucis juxta "Wyntoniam." See the Author's Histor. Survey, p. 160. Second Edit. See also Appendix O.

proceeded in his building, from the East, or choir end, (which on all such occasions was first erected, and rendered fit for divine service[m]) to the transept, the tower, and the nave of the church, he made many other pointed arches, some of them obtusely[n], others acutely pointed[o]; intermixed, however, with a still greater proportion of circular and other Saxon work. In 1138, he built the Castle of Farnham[p], where his pointed arches, resting on huge Saxon columns, are still to be seen[q].

Nor was the pointed arch during the reign in question, that of King Stephen, confined to the works of his brother, Henry Bishop of

[m] This is agreeable to the remark of Mr. Bentham, in his History of Ely.

[n] Pl. IV. Fig. XIX. [o] Pl. V. Fig. XX.

[p] "Anno 1138, fecit Henricus Episcopus ædificare domum quasi "palatium, cum turri fortissima in Wintonia, Castellum de Mer- "dona et de *Fernham*, &c." Annales Ecc. Wint. Auctore Monacho Winton. Angl. Sac. T. I. p. 299.

[q] These very interesting remains were first noticed by that indefatigable antiquary, Mr. Carter, and are represented by him, in his Ancient Architecture, Part. I. Plate 65. They are copied in our Pl. V. Fig. XXI.

Winchester; for Roger de Clinton, Bishop of Chester and Litchfield, introduced it into the church of the latter city, the greater part of which he rebuilt, and also into the abbey of his foundation at Bildwas, on the banks of the Severn, in Colebrook Dale. In the ruins of this interesting monastery, which was built between the years 1136 and 1139[r], as also in those of Lanthony Abbey, Gloucester, built at the same period, we see the lancet point in all the arches of the nave, under round headed Saxon windows, intermixed with the chevron billet, and other characteristics of Saxon Architecture.

If we may give implicit credit to the drawings and the authorities of Grose, the Scotch were not long in adopting the new

[r] Richardson, apud Godwin, assigns this year, quoting the Monasticon. Dugdale himself, Vol. III. p. 779. cites both the annals of St. Werburg, and those of Peterborough [Bib Cot,] for the year 1136, as that of the foundation. Probably the building was begun in the one, and finished in the other. The Abbey of St. Mary, near Dublin, was made a cell to Bildwas, by authority of Henry II. The remains of Bildwas very much resemble those of Lanthony Abbey, Gloucester; which, as appears from Dugdale's evidences, was founded in 1136. See the latter in Pl. V. Fig. XXII.

style of the English, which was probably introduced amongst them by David, their King, who came into England to command the army of his niece, the Empress Maud, against King Stephen. Thus much is certain, that Kelso Abbey, founded by him before he came into this country, namely in 1128, affords no specimen of the pointed arch, whilst other abbeys and churches in Scotland, built soon after his return home, present much the same mixture of round and pointed arches, as occurs in all the sacred edifices of that period in England.

A late writer, whose professed object was to transfer the palm of pointed architecture from the English, and Norman English, to the French, [which palm the French themselves are in the habit of attributing to our countrymen[s]] asserts that the pointed arch

[s] Historical Survey of Ecclesiastical Antiquities in France, by the Rev. G. D. Whittington. The received tradition, throughout all the northern provinces of France, is, that almost all their grand churches were built by the English. This testimony of the author is confirmed by Major Anderson, who surveyed these provinces with the eye of an antiquary, in 1801, and who mentions the churches

was adopted in the Abbey church of St. Denis, near Paris[t], begun in 1137, and finished in 1144, before any instance of it occurred in England. But this we have proved to be a palpable error, by the works and dates referred to above. In the second place, the writer admits, that this very church of St. Denis, was rebuilt from the ground, in 1231; and though he says, that

of Notre Dame, Amiens, Beauvais, Rouen, and St. Nicaise, as being attributed to English architects. This proves, at least, the high reputation in which English architects were held in France, at the time of the introduction of pointed architecture.

[t] This writer describes the apsis, or circular part, at the East end of the Abbey church of St. Germain at Paris, as consisting of pointed arches; which, he says, were adopted from "accident "and necessity." p. 87. This is giving up his system, as to their Eastern origin. Again, this alledged necessity is a mere imagination, as will be seen in the circular arches in the apsis of the chapel of the Tower, built by Gundulphus, before 1100. The writer mentions this church of St. Germain, as having been "finished, nearly as it exists now, before 1014;" and yet he says, "it was not dedicated till 1163." It is evident that he has either mistaken the sense of his French authors, or that they themselves were not entitled to credit. Would the monks of that abbey forego the use of their finished church, during 150 years, or perform divine service in one not dedicated, when their own, or any other bishop, could have performed this ceremony, as well as the Pope himself?

some portions of the old building were preserved, it is plain he is unable to ascertain which these are. Thirdly, in the painted windows of this church, as represented by the learned Mountfaucon, who says they were executed under the directions of Abbot Suger, in 1140[u], we have a continued series of the first crusade, in which a great number of arches are seen: but, in none of them is there the least appearance of the point. This is a double-edged sword against the writer's system. It proves that the painter was equally unacquainted with the pretended Eastern origin of the pointed arch, and with its alleged adoption in the church he was then ornamenting. Lastly, the many instances of mistake and prejudice, which occur in the posthumous work

[u] See Plate L. with the four following ones, and Montfaucon's explanation of them, in his Antiquities of the French Monarchy.

under consideration, prove the writer's haste and want of reflection, when he wrote it.[x].

[x] Amongst the instances of the writer's prejudice may be placed his denial of the existence of St. *Genevieve*, whose "name," he says, "is, probably, a corruption of *Janua Nova*." This etymology reminds us of Swift's derivation of *Peloponnesus*, from *Pail-up-and-ease-us*. St. Genevieve's name was well known in the East, as well as in the West, during her life-time; and frequently occurs in the life of her cotemporary, the celebrated St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, written by Constantius; who, as well as the writer, lived at the same time with her. It occurs likewise in all the original histories we have of Clovis, King of France. A chapel of wood was built over her tomb, soon after her death, about the year 512; and in the following century, the famous St. Eloy made a costly shrine for her remains.

CHAP. VI.

Progress of the Discovery—Formation of the First Order of this Style.—Description of the East End of Canterbury Cathedral.

To return now to the subject of intersecting arches; these were sometimes plain semicircles crossing each other, as on the South transept of Walkelyn's church at Winchester[a], and on the façade of St. Botolph's church, Colchester[b], in which they form a mere pointed arch, or else they were intersecting semicircles resting upon pillars, with a capital, or at least an abacus, by way of an impost, as on the North transept of Durham[c], the façade of Lin-

[a] See Pl. V. *fig.* XXIII. [b] See Pl. V. *fig.* XXIV.
[c] See Pl. V. *fig.* XXV.

coln, &c. In the latter case they present the appearance of a pointed arch, with the lateral points or *cusps*, as Sir James Hall has very aptly called them[d]. This ornament, during a considerable time, was only used occasionally, but, in the end, its use became universal. The addition of another cusp on each side of the pointed arch, turned its trefoil head into a cinquefoil. In like manner, four cusps being introduced into that circle or Oeil de Bœuf, which the Saxon, as well as the ancient Roman and Greek architects, had been accustomed to place in the tympanum of their pediments, formed a quatrefoil rose or cross. By an additional number of cusps, Catharine-wheel or marygold windows were easily produced. But these did not make their appearance till the beginning of the thirteenth century. During the latter part of the twelfth, a strange mixture of styles

[d] Essay on the Origin of Gothic Architecture. See Transac. Edinburgh. Philos. Soc.

prevailed in the numerous ecclesiastical buildings which were then going forward, as might be expected when an old style began to be exploded and a new one was in the act of formation. This would not have been the case had the latter been copied from established models in Syria, Arabia, Egypt, Spain, or elsewhere. Pointed arches were every where intermixed with circular ones [e]. The former were more generally placed upon massive Saxon pillars, and were, in some few instances at first, very obtuse, as in the intercolumniations at St. Cross[f], or what was almost always the case, they were exceedingly acute, as in those of the neighbouring church of St.

[e] A great number of these architectural varieties and intermixtures are exhibited by Mr. Carter in his rich treasury of architectual antiquities cited above. See Plates XXXVI. and XXXVII. &c. Most of these he demonstrates to have been originally so constructed, having been occasioned by what he calls the struggle between the circular and pointed styles.

[f] See Pl. IV. *fig.* XIX.

Mary Magdalen on the Hill, raised about the year 1174[g].

It is matter of evidence that the pointed arch was used in England a considerable time before any other member which is now considered as belonging to the pointed style. It could not, however, long escape the observation of our ingenious architects, that the ponderous circular pillar ill accorded with the light and aspiring pointed arch. Accordingly, towards the close of the century in question, the Saxon column, in some instances, began to be shaped into the form of the Arabic figure 8, so as to retain its former strength and yet to appear gracefully slender; and where columns were used for decoration rather than for strength,

[g] See Pl. VI. *fig.* XXVIII. Mr. Whittington maintains that "the slender proportions" of the style in question, by which we presume he means cluster columns, pinnacles, &c. were borrowed from the East, together with pointed arches; and yet it is demonstrated that the former did not appear in England or France till a considerable time after the latter, and that they made their way by slow degrees. See the foregoing figures.

as to support ornamental arcades and the architraves of windows, very thin ones, and those, for the most part of Purbec marble, were adopted. We have a striking example of these and other improvements in the pointed style before our eyes at the East end of Canterbury cathedral, which was rebuilt between the years 1175 and 1180, under the direction of William of Sens, and of another architect of the name of William. It is an incomparable advantage for forming a right idea of the rise of pointed architecture in this country, that we are possessed of an accurate comparison, made by an intelligent eye-witness, Gervase, a monk of this cathedral, between the choir part of the church built by Lanfranc, who was an architect as well as a prelate, about the year 1085 (and which was burnt down in the year 1174) and the said choir part rebuilt by the two abovementioned architects at the distance of about 90 years afterwards [h]. The

[h] Appendix P.

most remarkable things which he mentions are these: that the pillars of the new choir were of the same form and thickness[i] with those of the old choir, but that they were 12 feet longer; that the former capitals were plain, while the latter were delicately carved; that there were no marble columns in Lanfranc's work, but an incredible number in that which succeeded it; that the stones which formed the ancient arches were cut with an axe, but those of the new arches with a chissel; that the vaulting of the side aisles of the choir was formerly plain, but now pointed with key-stones[k]; that the old

i He speaks of them as they appear to the eye, namely round, in contradistinction to the square and hexagon piers, which were common in Saxon and Norman churches.

k "Arcuatæ & clavatæ." In a former passage he had said: "Clavem pono pro toto ciborio; eo quod clavis in medio posita "partes undequaque venientes claudere et confirmare videtur." Fol. 1298. From this account of the key-stone or boss, which, in forming a pointed groin is the support of all the others, and requires to be made of a particular shape, it is plain that the author speaks of pointed vaulting. It is unaccountable that our great architect should assert, as he does in his Parentalia, p. 297, speaking of the supposed authors of pointed architecture, that "Their arches were pointed *without key-stones*, which they "thought too heavy."

choir was covered with a flat ceiling, ornamentally painted[l], while the new one was elegantly arched, with hard stone for the ribs and light toph stone for the interstices; finally, that there was only one *triforium* or gallery round the ancient choir, while there were two round the modern one. The present state of the East end of Canterbury cathedral still corresponds with the account of Gervase, written above 600 years ago, and is faithfully exhibited by Mr. Carter, from whose plate, with his permission, we shall borrow a copy of it[m]. We still see large well proportioned columns, which appear round to the spectator, when in a proper position, crowned with elegant capitals, nearly of the Corinthian order. Upon the abacus of these capitals rest the bases of slender marble columns, which mix

[l] This is the actual state of the grand abbatial church of St. Albans, and of other ancient churches.

[m] See Pl. VI. *fig.* XXVII. See also an interior view of this portion of Canterbury Cathedral, as it still subsists, Plate VIII.

their heads with those of other marble columns supporting the arches of the principal triforium. From these united capitals branch out triple clusters, which, at a proper height, form themselves into ribs to sustain the groining. The arches on both the upper stories and in the groining are highly pointed[n], as are those also on the basement story, which latter sweep round the Eastern extremity to form the concha or apsis; in short, twenty years before the close of the twelfth century, there was not a member of Saxon architecture to be seen in the whole chancel and choir of the church of Canterbury, except the main arches of the basement story,

[n] It is, however, worthy of remark, that the arches on the upper story alternately take the horse-shoe sweep, embracing more than half a circle. The same is the case with the ribs which support the groining. This form of arch occurs also in the church of Rumsey, the porch of St. Cross, in a side chapel now used as a work shop, in the North transept of Winchester cathedral, &c. The Moors of Spain having late in the thirteenth century acquired some knowledge of pointed architecture, probably from France, parts of which they overran, were particularly fond of the horse-shoe arch. Swinburn discovered upon the Alahambra the date, if I mistake not, of 1276.

which were probably so constructed from an idea of their being firmer than pointed ones, and certain billet-blockings and mouldings, which themselves gave place as the work advanced upwards to what may be called the *quatrefoil moulding*. This moulding, thus introduced, soon became universal, and is a sure criterion of the first order of pointed architecture in its more perfect state[o].

The style adopted in the first metropolitical church of this kingdom, was followed in the suffragan cathedrals as soon as any of them stood in need of rebuilding or repairing. Lincoln led the way about the year 1195, under the directions of the illustrious St. Hugh, who undertook to rebuild the whole of this vast cathedral, and who was so intent upon the work, that he carried stones and mortar on his own shoulder for the use of the masons[p]. The church was

[o] See pl. V *fig.* XXVI. copied from Mr. Halfpenny's pl. 74, of Gothic Ornaments in York Minster. The original is in the West aisle of the North transept, erected early in the thirteenth century.

[p] Mat. Paris ad An. 1200.

so far advanced by him at the time of his death, which happened in 1200, that he is considered as its principal builder, though we know that its nave was not finished till about fifty years afterwards, in the episcopacy of Robert Grostete. Except the West front, which is almost all the original work of the Norman prelate Remigius, and except the groins, skreens, and certain other interior decorations, it is all in the simple style of the first or lancet order of pointed architecture, but magnificent and beautiful beyond the conception of those who have not seen it[q]. The rich and pow-

[q] Beverley Minster is for the most part in the same style, and probably of the same date with Lincoln. It is hardly inferior to it, except in its dimensions. The Western and Eastern façades, however, are in a later style. Worcester cathedral, having been defaced with fire in 1202, was restored in the course of sixteen years afterwards, being dedicated in 1218.—Annales Wigorn, ad dict. An. Its choir is decorated in the same magnificent and striking style as that of Lincoln. The triforia or galleries, and other inside work of Litchfield cathedral, are in the same rich manner. This and the windows of the nave are certainly not the work of Bishop De Clinton, in the reign of Henry I. as is generally believed; but rather of Alexander de Stavenby, who was consecrated in 1224, and who is recorded for having done great

erful Bishop of Winchester, Godfrey de Lucy, undertook in 1202 to do the same at his church that had been done at Canterbury, namely, to rebuild the East end of it in the new invented style. His extensive work still remains, and is remarkable for its long narrow arches, pointed like a lancet, its slender detached pillars of Purbec or Petworth marble, its quatrefoil mouldings, and light, though simple, groining. And whereas it was usual, for the sake of ornament and also of use, when a window was wanted, to place two of these narrow arches together under one larger arch, and being thus placed, there occurred a vacant space between their heads, a trefoil, quatrefoil, or cinquefoil was, about this period, gracefully introduced to fill it

things for his church (De Successione Epic. Lichf. Thom. Chesterfeld. Angl. Sac.) and of his other near successors, to one of whom Henry III. gave a licence for taking stone from the forest of [illegible] was, "Pro nova fabrica Ecclesiæ." See Shaw's Staffordshire, &c. The Lady Chapel, and the groining of the whole cathedral, were the work of Bishop Langton, about the year 1320.

up[r]. In 1227, Archbishop Walter de Grey undertook to rebuild the Northern metropolitical church, that of York, beginning with the South cross aisle, which exhibits all the abovementioned characters[s]. The same work was going on at this time at Worcester, Salisbury, and other great churches. The latter, which was a new foundation, begun by Bishop Poore in 1220[t] and finished by Bishop Bridport in 1258, exhibits in its front and other parts the double lancet arch, with the intermediate rose between their heads and the other abovementioned characters[u]. Finding it, however, necessary to place three lancet

[r] See an outside view of De Lucy's arches at the East end of Winchester cathedral, pl. VII, *fig.* XXXII. Also at pl. VII, *fig.* XXXI. an inside view of the same, shewing the slender detached Purbec pillars, the simple groining, the quatrefoils inserted between the cuspated heads of the pillars, &c. being all of the date of 1202.

[s] See the triforia or galleries, built by Archbishop de Grey, in Mr. Halfpenny's Views, plate 78.

[t] Bishop Poore being translated to Durham, began to ornament the East end of the cathedral there, namely, the nine altars, &c. in the same style with his works at Salisbury.

[u] See pl. VI. *fig.* XXIX copied from the façade of Salisbury cathedral.

windows together in the upper story of his church, he raised the middle one considerably higher than the others, an improvement which was adopted in many other churches at this period. A still more important improvement of his was the raising of the cornice or canopy to a considerable height above the arches; which cornice had hitherto stuck fast to the architrave. It terminated, indeed, in a trefoil or other flower, but was not furnished with crockets or other rich decorations[x]. At the time when the work at Salisbury was drawing towards a conclusion, that at Westminster Abbey was beginning, namely, in 1245. The North transept and part of the adjoining work remain in much the same fashion of architecture they were left in by their founder, Henry III[y]. The windows

[x] Pl. VI. *Fig.* XXX. copied from the same. It must be added, that the cornice at this time seldom descended so low as the impost of the arch, and commonly rested on a scroll, mask, or other simple ornament by way of bracket. See *fig.* XXVI.

[y] Mr. Carter shews that the great Catharine wheel window of the transept has been enlarged to its present dimensions at a subsequent period.

of the side aisle and upper story are larger and better proportioned, and the work in general is more perfect than had hitherto been witnessed. These windows adopt the cinquefoil in their heads, and those which light the triforium externally, consist of a triple cinquefoil under a pointed arch, thus furnishing beautiful models which were imitated in the heads of windows during a long time afterwards. The arches and windows of the transept being placed in regular rows above and near each other, present the idea of those immense mullioned windows, which afterwards came into fashion. Here also, namely, in the inside of the transept, we find statues of tolerable good workmanship: and on the outside we observe niches with pedestals and plain canopies.

CHAP. VII.

Formation of the Second Order.—This the perfection of the Style. —Description of its Characteristical Members.

During the reign of our first Edward, which commenced in 1272, the architecture of this country, through the genius, industry, and piety of its architects, and artists, acquired a new character, or rather tranformed itself into a new order of the pointed style. The first feature of this was the general adoption of the well proportioned and well formed aspiring arch. The pointed arches, which had hitherto been constructed, though sometimes accidentally graceful and perfect, were almost always too narrow, too sharp in the point, and ungrace-

fully turned, as appears, amongst other instances, in the windows of the nave of Worcester, and in the old parts of Litchfield Cathedral. But those of the present period were universally well turned, and duly proportioned[a]. They were also invariably adorned, with one or more cusps, on each side of the head; so as to form trefoils, cinquefoils, &c. as also with new invented and highly finished mouldings. The pediments raised over these, and other arches, were universally purfled, that is to say, adorned with the representation of foliage along the jambs, called crockets[b]. Pinnacles, which had hitherto been rare and and quite plain, were now placed at the sides of almost every arch, and on the top of every buttress, being invariably purfled and

[a] The best proportion of the head of a pointed arch, is allowed to be when an equilateral triangle can be inscribed within its crown, and its imposts or springing.

[b] These terminations of the canopy, pediment, or sweeping cornice, as Mr. Carter terms it, were now made to descend as low as the springing of the arch, and rested on the busts of Bishops, Kings, or other founders, or benefactors of the building.

surmounted with an elegant flower, called a finial. A pinnacle of a larger size, being placed on the square tower of former times, as was the case at Salisbury, and elsewhere, became a broach or spire. Nay, so fond were the people of this novel ornament, that we read of a new built tower being taken down, because it was not fit to sustain one; when another tower, with a spire to it, was built, equal in height with the whole length of the church[c]. That bold feature of this style the flying buttress, for supporting the upper walls of the nave, which had hitherto, for the most part, been concealed in the roof of the side aisles, was now brought to view with suitable dressings, as an ornament. The window no longer consisted of an arch divided by a mullion into two, and surmounted with a single or triple circle, or quatrefoil, but was now portioned out by

[c] Du Fresne, Article Turrile. N. B. We read of a steeple upon the top of St. Paul's, London, early in this century, but we may be sure it was such a small plain obelisk, as those we see on the façade of Salisbury.

mullions and transoms, or cross bars, into four, five, six, and sometimes into nine bays, or days, as the separate lights of a window were called; and their heads were diversified by tracery work into a variety of architectural designs, and particularly into the form of flowers. The circumstance, which had favoured the introduction of large West windows, was the abrogation of canonical penances, in consequence of the frequent crusades, which, in its consequence rendered the Galilee, or penitential porch at that end of the church unnecessary[d]. The plain niches of the 13th century, early in the 14th became

[d] There were formerly such porches at the Western extremity of all large churches. In these public penitents were stationed; dead bodies were sometimes deposited, previously to their interment, and females were allowed to see the monks of the convent, who were their relatives. We may gather from a passage in Gervase, that, upon a woman's applying for leave to see a monk, her relation, she was answered, in the words of scripture: "He goeth "before you into Galilee, there you shall see him." Hence the term *Galilee*, which is still retained for the Western porches of Durham and Ely Cathedrals, and which has puzzled all antiquaries. It is well known that at Durham Cathedral, women were not even allowed to attend divine service, except in the Galilee.

gorgeous tabernacles, in which as much architectural skill and industry was often bestowed, as in building the whole church. These tabernacles, as well as various other parts of the sacred edifice, were filled with statuary, which frequently exhibited equal spirit in the design, and art in the execution[e]. Finally the ribs, supporting the groined ceilings, were no longer simple intersecting arches, but they branched out in tracery work of various devices, still more rich and elegant than that in the large windows; and wherever these ribs met, they were tied together by an architectural knot, called a boss, or orb, which generally exhibited some instructive device[f].

[e] This will be acknowledged by every person of taste, who looks into Mr. Halfpenny's work, representing the decorations of York Minster, executed early in the 14th century.

[f] It is proper to observe that the pediments, or canopies, which during the reign of the two first Edwards, and the early part of Edward IIId's. reign, rose straight upwards, like the sides of an equilateral triangle, as has been seen in *fig.* XXX, towards the latter end of the reign of Edward III, began to humour the sweeping curve of the arches they covered, which reduced their excessive height, and added to their gracefulness. See pl. VII, *fig.* XXXIII. copied from Winchester College Tower.

We have proofs of these improvements, or rather of this new order of pointed architecture, in the three remaining grand crosses erected in memory of Eleanor, wife of Edward I. at Northampton, Geddington, and Waltham. She died in 1290. We have other proofs in the magnificent tomb in Westminster Abbey, of Edmund Crouchback, brother of King Edward I. who died in 1296. But the most perfect specimen of the whole detail of these improvements is to be met with in York Minster, the nave of which was built between the years 1290 and 1330, and the choir some thirty years afterwards. If any similar erection, on a smaller scale, could, in its time, have vied with this in beauty and grandeur, it was St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, which was begun by Edward III. in 1348. But of the inimitable beauties of this chapel, only a few scattered vestiges remain[g]. There are few indeed, if any, of

[g] See the plans, elevations, &c. of this chapel, now the House of Commons, published by the Society of Antiquaries from Mr. Carter's drawings.

our cathedrals which were not rebuilt or repaired in some or other of their parts in the new improved manner. Before 1321 Bishop Langton had added the Lady chapel to his Cathedral of Litchfield, had groined the whole, and had erected the beautiful Western façade[h]. About the same time the chief part of the nave of Westminster Abbey was in building. Between the years 1327 and 1370, Exeter cathedral was groined, and its heavy Norman work changed into the light and elegant pointed architecture of that period, by its munificent Prelate, Grandison[i]. During the Pontificate of Courtney, which commenced in 1381, and that of his successor Arundel, the nave of Canterbury cathedral was rebuilt[k]. About the same period that great prelate and architect, Bishop William de Wykeham, was employed in performing the

[h] Thomas de Chesterfield Angl. Sacr. et Godwin de Præsul.
[i] Godwin de Præsul.
[k] Idem.

same difficult work in Winchester cathedral, which had taken place in that of Exeter and others. It has been generally said[1] that Wykeham took down the nave of his church, which had been erected by his Norman predecessor, Walkelin, in order to build that which exists at present, and few persons can understand how the clumsy circular architecture of the eleventh century could be altered into the elegant pointed style of the fourteenth; but, to convince themselves of the possibility of this, they have but to ascend into the roofs of the side aisles and nave of the last mentioned church. Indeed, without such climbing, they may see this demonstrated at the West end of Gloucester, St. Albans, and Rumsey great churches, where two or three of the plain circular Saxon pillars have been cased with mouldings, so as to appear cluster columns, and where the

[1] Bishop Lowth in his Life of W. of Wykeham, the Rev. Thomas Warton in his Survey of Winchester, &c.

naked round arches have been shaped into elegant pointed ones, while the rest of the columns and arches to the Eastward are left in their original state. The taste for improvement descended to the parish churches, in which though means should have been wanting for making any other alterations, yet the windows, at least of almost all of them, were changed by some benefactor or another into those of the pointed style. Hence it is not uncommon to see figures of knights or ladies presenting windows of this form in the painted glass of such churches[m].

[m] There are representations of such in Dugdale's Warwickshire, in Montfaucon's Antiquities of the French Monarchy, &c. In the last mentioned work we see, in Plate XCIII. the figure of Lewis Count of Evreux, son of the French King, presenting a window to the principal church of that city. It is a very poor specimen of architecture for the beginning of the fourteenth century, with which this offering corresponds.

CHAP. VIII.

Depression of the Pointed Arch—The Third Order of the Pointed Style—Description of it—Cause of the Decline of Pointed Architecture.

It is the condition of all mortal things to be subject to change; hence human arts, like the human body, when they have attained their perfection, tend towards a decline. This was the case with that singular invention of human genius and piety, pointed architecture. Its rise, progress, and decline, occupy little more than four centuries in the chronology of the world. As its characteristical perfection consisted in the due elevation of the arch; so its decline commenced by an undue depression of it. This took place in the latter part

of the fifteenth century, and is to be seen, amongst other instances, in parts of St. George's chapel, Windsor, built by Edward IV[n]. in King's College chapel, Cambridge, and in the chapel of Henry VII. Westminster. It is undoubtedly true, that the architects of these splendid and justly admired erections, Bishop Cloose, Sir Reginald de Bray, &c. displayed more art and more professional science than their predecessors had done; but they did this at the expence of the characteristical excellence of the style itself which they built in. They consulted more their own reputation than the proper effect of their works. The spectator, in viewing these, was amazed at the sight of huge masses of stone, of more than a ton weight, called pendent capitals, hanging in the air, which, instead of supporting the vast groins in which they

[n] This monarch died in 1483. We have selected the arch over his tomb in St. George's chapel, Windsor, as a specimen of the arch in question. Pl. VII. *Fig.* XXXIV.

are fixed, are supported by them. But this taste betrayed a disregard for the aspiring arch, the curvature of which was henceforward discernible at its springing, rather than at its point. Finally, ingenuity more than sublimity was now affected, and curiosity more than devotion gratified. Thus the Royal chapels and mortuary oratories, built in the reigns of the two last Henrys, are seen covered over with tracery and other carvings of the most exquisite design and execution, but which fatigue the eye and cloy the mind by their redundancy. Hence the judicious critic, after admiring their ingenuity, fails not to sigh for the chaste grandeur of York Minster, or even for the unadorned majesty of Salisbury cathedral, instead of them. The windows of this period were so enlarged, multiplied, and brought down so low, as to give the whole sacred edifice the appearance of a glass lanthorn. This, amongst other instances, is exemplified in the Lady chapel of Glouces-

ter Abbey, which was built towards the close of the fifteenth century. The mullions were multiplied proportionably to the size of the windows, in such manner that frequently the eye cannot discover any regular figure or design in them. The tracery of the vaulting corresponded with that of the windows. The ribs, whose office it is to support the groins, were ramified into fibres; but, in return, they were loaded at the knots with such numerous and disproportioned heavy armorial bearings, badges, rebuses, and other similar ornaments, as to draw down the low arches still nearer to the eye, and to give them an appearance of heaviness very remote from the due effect of the pointed arch. The

° It is to be understood, however, that these observations do not apply to all the pointed architecture of the æra in question. Bishop Oliver King, for example, about the year 1500, erected the grand church at Bath, in a very chaste and in some respects too plain a manner; for he contented himself with coving the nave instead of groining it. In 1525, Bisop Fox rebuilt and ornamented the chancel of Winchester cathedral with the same good taste, except as far as regards the substituting of canopies over the towers instead of pinnacles, and loading the groins with numberless heavy devices.

same depression of the arch, which characterizes the inside of the sacred buildings of this period, appears also on the outside of them. Instead of the aspiring pinnacles and spires of the preceding æra, the towers now built were covered with hemispherical cupolas, and the portals of this period, though still slightly pointed, instead of being surmounted with crocketed canopies and purfled side buttresses, were enclosed in large square architraves, the chief ornaments of which were inscribed in the spandrels[p]. In short, the downfal of pointed architecture in this kingdom, as its established style for ecclesiastical purposes, was inevitable from a variety of causes, but chiefly from a falling off from its primary character, the sublime, which was the necessary consequence of the depression of its aspiring arch. The ruin was complete when Edward VI. mounted the throne in the mid-

[p] See the arch over the tomb of Edward IV. in the *Fig.* above referred to.

dle of the sixteenth century. Then began a truly Gothic, or at least a ba baric style, consisting of irregular and ill-executed Grecian members, with intermixed globes, triangles, frets, pyramids, obelisks, and other absurd devices, as may be seen on all the ornamental tombs and other works executed in England, between the close of the reign of the last Henry and the early part of the reign of the first Charles, by whose taste and munificence, and the genius of Inigo Jones, true Grecian architecture was introduced into this island.

CHAP. IX.

Description of the Three Orders—Periods of their respective duration—Churches, &c. which belong to each of them.

FROM what has been said it will appear that there are three orders of the pointed style, corresponding with the different periods in which they prevailed, each one of which has its proper character and members[q] as much as the five orders of the Grecian style have theirs[r]. It is for professional men, such as the author of the Ancient Architecture of England, who has spent his life in bisecting our cathedrals, longitudinally and

[q] It is a mistake in Mr. Payne Knight to assert, as he does in his Inquiry, p. 159, that "If we ask what is meant by pure "Gothic, we can receive no satisfactory answer, as there are no "rules, no proportions, and consequently no definitions of it."

[r] Batty Langley attempts to make out five orders of what he calls Gothic Architecture, to correspond, in number, with the Grecian orders. But it is to be observed, that this miserable architect invents all his orders: they are none of them conformable to original works in the pointed style. Such, however, as they are, they have served to mislead this nation into a preposterous

latitudinally[s], and in copying them, from their grand proportions down to their minutest decorations,[t] to enter into the detail of these with both his pencil and his pen. The chief rule he will have to follow in the performance of the task here pointed out, is that which the writer has scrupulously adhered to in the course of this treatise, namely, to select such architectural specimens[u] for his authorities, as can be demonstrated to belong to the periods and orders

species of architecture, very prevalent in the villas round the metropolis, called the Gothic, but which ought be called the fantastic style.

[s] See that splendid work, which does so much honour to our nation, published by the Society of Antiquaries, Plans, Elevations, and Sections of St. Stephen's chapel, and of Exeter, Bath, Durham, and Gloucester cathedrals, engraved by Mr. Basire, from the drawings of Mr. Carter.

[t] See Mr. Carter's Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, likewise his Ancient Architecture of England. In the latter work he is laying the foundations and furnishing the materials for the regular system here suggested.

[u] A great variety of examples, accurately drawn, and elegantly engraved, will be found in "*The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain,*" of which 2 vols. in quarto, are already published, and which with the accompanying documents would be of the greatest use to the scientific architect who should undertake the important task here pointed out.

in which he places them. That this task has not yet been performed is no proof that it cannot be performed. Grecian architecture was long practised before the rules of it were laid down, or the proportions of it discovered. With respect to the present writer it is sufficient for him to refer to the proofs which he has adduced, that the pointed style of architecture in this country can be traced up to the reign of Henry I. in 1132, or, at the latest, to the beginning of the reign of Stephen, in 1136, and that its First Order, that of the acute arch, was perfected before the conclusion of the twelfth century, and that this order continued till near the conclusion of the thirteenth century; that its Second Order, that of the perfect or equilateral arch[x], reigned from that period till after the middle of the fifteenth century; and

[x] It is not meant that all the arches of the second order are of the proportion in question; it is sufficient that they come near to it, and are all elegantly turned.

that the Third Order, that of the obtuse arch, obtained from this time down to the middle of the sixteenth century, when the style itself was exploded, and a great proportion of the most beautiful specimens of it were destroyed. We have also remarked that the First Order is characterized during its formation, that is to say, till near the latter part of the twelfth century, chiefly by its acute arch (its pillars and other members being frequently Saxon,) but after its formation, not only by the narrowness and acuteness of its arch, but also by its detached slender shafts, its groining of simple intersecting ribs, its plain pediments without crockets or side pinnacles, and its windows, which are either destitute of mullions or have only a simple bisecting mullion, with a single or a triple trefoil, quatrefoil, or other flower, in the head of them. Of this order are the East end of Canterbury, the West end of Lincoln, and the whole of Salisbury Cathedrals, besides

the transepts of York Minster and of Westminster Abbey. The Second Order is marked, not only by the due proportion and the fine turn of its arch, but also by the cluster columns being, for the most part, formed out of one and the same stone, for the sake of combining strength with lightness, by the elegant, but not overcrowded tracery of its windows and groining, by its crocketed pinnacles, tabernacles, and pediments, the latter of which, towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, were made to humour the sweeping of the arch which they covered. To this order belong the nave of Westminster Abbey, the nave and choir of York Minster, the naves of Winchester, Exeter, and Canterbury cathedrals, Wykeham's two colleges, St. Stephen's chapel, &c. The Third Order is known, not only by the flatness of the point of its arch, but also by its numerous, large, and low descending windows, together with the multiplicity and intricacy of its tracery,

by its pendent capitals, by the profusion of its ornaments on the walls, both exteriorly and interiorly, by its fan work and countless shields and devices on the ceilings. To this order belong King's College chapel, the chapel of Henry VII. those of Prince Arthur, at Worcester, of Cardinal Beaufort and the Bishops Waynflete and Fox, at Winchester, &c. It will be readily gathered from the whole of this treatise which of the three orders the author himself prefers for religious structures, as best calculated to produce the proper effect of the style[y]; though, doubtless, the impracticability of raising a lofty arch, from want of strength in the supporters or other causes, may sometimes render the obtuse arch preferable upon the whole, especially for small chapels. But which ever order of the pointed style is adopted, good taste as strictly requires that their respective members and ornaments should not be blended together, as that

[y] See Appendix Q.

Grecian and pointed architecture should not be intermixed in the same work[z].

[z] This want of taste is conspicuous in the alterations which have been made of late years in Salisbury cathedral, where the ornaments of the demolished Beauchamp chapel, being of the third order of pointed architecture, are employed to decorate the chaste and uniform work, in the first order, of the illustrious Prelate who founded the cathedral and city of Sarum, Richard de Poore. See the Author's "Dissertation on the Modern Style of altering Ancient Cathedrals."

APPENDIX.

[A] It is so called in the account of the Cathedral of Durham, published by the Society of Antiquaries, which accompanies their magnificent and beautiful plates of that church, engraved by Mr. Basire, from Mr. Carter's drawings. The appellation of English Architecture has drawn forth certain criticisms on the part of Mr. Whittington and others; but if these writers even had succeeded in proving that the pointed style did not begin in England, as certainly they have not, still, arguing by analogy, there would be no impropriety in the term. When we speak of the antiquities discovered at Bath, and exhibited and explained by Sir Henry Englefield, Archaeolog. Vol. X. we call them Roman, not that the style of them was invented at Rome, for they are in the Corinthian order, but because they were erected during the Roman dynasty in Britain. In like manner we call those Saxon remains,

which we believe to have been erected during the Heptarchy, not that the Saxons invented the manner of building them, for we know the Saxons were taught to build by the Romans of their age. Why then may not that be called English Architecture which began to prevail when the nation became properly denominated English?

[B] The lower porch, however, which was the place for penitents, was shut up interiorly, and thus formed part of the open cloyster, that was generally in front of the primitive churches. Mr. Whittington, in his late work, supports an opinion that "the Basilicæ, erected "by Constantine, like the buildings from which they "were copied, were open at the sides." Hist. Survey, p. 3. This observation rests upon no other ground than an observation of Ciampini, that in the Sessorian Basilic, now the church of the Holy Cross at Rome, the arcades which were heretofore open are filled up with different materials and workmanship from the original building. But could hardly appear otherwise, though they had been stopped up by Constantine, as we make no doubt they were. Had the ancient churches been open on all sides, how could that object of primitive veneration, the altar, have been preserved safe from violation? How could the sacred mysteries be kept secret from the heathens, in conformity with the canons? Of what use was the ancient order of

Ostiarii or door keepers, mentioned by St. Ignatius in the first century, and St. Cornelius in the third? and indeed of what use were church doors themselves?

[c] Paulinum asserit patrum traditio ecclesiam, contex- " tam dudum, ut diximus, virgis, ligno tabulatu in- " duisse, et plumbo, à summo usque deorsum, coope- " ruisse. Egit namque prædicabilis viri solertia ut nihi " decederet sanctitati et plurimum accederet ornatui." Gul. Malm. Antiq. Glaston. apud Gale.

[d] Venerable Bede, speaking of the abovementioned church of Lindisfarn, which Bishop Finian had built of oaken planks and covered with reeds, says: " Episcopus " loci illius, Eadbert, ablatâ arundine, plumbi laminis " eam totam, hoc est et tectum et ipsos parietes ejus, " cooperire curavit." This happened about the year " 700."

[e] " In Rhypis basilicam polito lapide, a funda- " mentis-usque ad summum ædificatam, variis columnis " et porticibus suffultam in altum errexit et consum- " mavit." Eddius Vita S. Wilf. c. xvii. apud Gale. This writer flourished in the year 720.

[f] " Profunditatem ecclesiæ (Hagulstaldensis) cryptis " et oratoriis subterraneis et viarum anfractibus inferius

" cum magnâ industriâ fundavit. Parietes autem qua-
" dratis et variis et bene politis columnis suffultos et
" tribus tabulatis distinctos, immensæ longitudinis et
" altitudinis errexit. Ipsos etiam et capitella columna-
" rum quibus sustentantur et arcum sanctuarii historiis
" et imaginibus et variis celaturarum figuris ex lapide
" prominentibus et picturarum et colorum grata varie-
" tate, mirabilique decore decoravit. Ipsum quoque
" corpus ecclesiæ appenticiis et porticibus undique cir-
" cumcinxit, quæ miro atque inexplicabili artificio per
" parietes et cocleas inferius et superius distinxit.—
" Denique citra Alpes nullum tale tunc temporis reperiri
" poterat." Ricard Prior de Stat. Haguld. Ecc. c. iii. Twysden X. Script.——" Neque ullam domum aliam
" citra Alpes montes talem (sicut Hagulstaldensem)
" ædificatam audivimus." Eddius. Vit. Wilf. c. xxii. See also Will. Malm. De Pont. L. III. p. 273.

[G] Bede L. IV. c. 2. " Ædificia mirabile quantum
" expolivit, arbitratu quidem multa suo, sed et cæmen-
" tariorum, quos ex Româ spes munificentiæ attraxerat,
" magisterio." Will. Malm. De Pontif. L. III.

[H] " Architectos sibi mitti petiit qui, juxta *morem*
" *Romorum* ecclesiam de lapide ingenti ipsi facerent.'
Bed. L. V. c. 22.

[I] "Sunt autem in eadem villa duæ aliæ ecclesiæ, "una haud procul a muro matris ecclesiæ, mirandi "operis, et ipsa scilicet in modum turris erecta et fere "rotunda, à quatuor partibus totidem porticus habens.— "Has tres ecclesias S. Wilfridus incæpisse creditur, sed "ejus successor, Beatæ memoriæ, Acca eas consum- "mavit." Ric Haguls. c. 5.

[K] "Idem B. Papa (Stephanus III. A. D. 770.) fecit "super Basilicam S. Petri turrim, in qua tres posuit "campanas quæ clerum et populum ad officium Dei con- "vocarent." Anastas. Biblioth. in Vita Steph. III.

[L] "Sub medio longitudinis aulæ ipsius (Ecclesiæ "Cantuariensis) duæ erant turres prominentes ultra "ecclesiæ alas; quarum una, quæ in austro erat, sub "honore B. Gregorii altare dedicatum habebat et, in "latere, principale hostium (ostium) ecclesiæ, quod "*Suthdore* dicitur. Alia vero turris in aquilonari plaga, "è regione illius, condita fuit in honore B. Martini." Gervas. Dorob. De combust et Reparat. Ecc. Doroo. apud Twisden X. Script. N. B. Gervase in this passage quotes the account of the old church, by Eadmer, who had seen it previously to its being burnt in the time of Lanfranc.

[*L] "Porro Normanni erant tunc & sunt adhuc ves-
"tibus, ad invidiam culti, cibis, citra ullam nimietatem,
"delicati.—Domi ingentia ædificia moliri.—Religionis
"normam usquequaque emortuam adventu suo suscita-
"runt. Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis et
"urbibus monasteria, novo ædificandi genere, consur-
"gere, recenti ritu patriam florere, ita ut periisse diem
"quisque opulentus existimat, quem non aliqua præclarâ
"magnificentiâ illustret." Wilhelm. Malmesb. De Wilhel. 1°. L. III. De Reg. p. 102.

[N] "Hæc (sanctimonialis Begu) dum in dormitorio
"sororum pausans, audivit subito *in aere* notum *cam-*
"*panæ*, quo ad orationes excitari vel convocari solebant
"cum quis earum de sæculo fuisset convocata." Bed. Hist. L. IV. c. 23.—N. B. The use of painted glass in England is brought down, by modern writers, as low as the reign of Henry III. Such may be the æra of its being *made* in England; but it is likely that the use of it is a great deal more ancient, since it was employed in windows at Rome as early as the year 813; in which year Leo III. glazed the church of St. John Lateran with glass of various colours. See Fleury, L. XLVI. Sec. XX. and his authorities.

[O] Upon what authority then has Mr. Whittington pronounced the arches in this choir, which the writer

had referred to in a former work, Hist. of Winch. Vol. II. p. 152, to be "doubtful instances." He says. "Perhaps these intersections were not originally "pierced." To clear up this doubt, let the choir be first inspected. Without the twenty windows of the intersected arches it would be nearly dark at noon day. Next let the work itself be examined. It will be found that the cornice from which the pointed arch springs, not only on the surface of the wall, but also through the whole thickness of it, is of one and the same construction. Lastly, let the pointed arches at *fig.* XX. copied from the South transept of St. Cross, which have no intersecting semicircles over them, be compared with those of the windows, they will be found to be of exactly the same very singular design and workmanship with them, and therefore are to be pronounced coeval with them, that is to say, as ancient as 1136 at least. With equal inattention to his subject, this writer denies that "the church of St. "Cross is a sort of collection of architectural essays;" affirming that "it is made up of successive alterations and "repairs."—It is for the architectural critic, who surveys the still diversified arches, and columns with their capitals and bases, ribs, mouldings, &c. in the same series and adjoining to each other, all of them being of characteristical Norman workmanship, to decide, whether the author had good reason for his assertion, or Mr. Whit-

tington for his denial. This gentleman's difficulties would all have vanished had he conceived that De Blois finished the choir, and erected the huge columns of the nave, with the side aisles, leaving to Toclyve, or one of his other successors, to raise the upper story and West façade.

[P] "Nunc autem quæ sit operis utriusque differentia "dicendum est. Pilariorum igitur tam veterum quam "novorum una forma est, una grossitudo, sed longitudo "dissimilis. Elongati sunt enim pilarii novi longitu- "dine pedum fere duodecim. In capitellis veteribus "opus erat planum, in novis sculptura subtilis. Ibi in "chori ambitu pilarii viginti duo, hîc autem viginti "octo. Ibi arcus et cætera omnia plana utpote sculpta "secure et non scisello, hîc in omnibus fere sculptura "idonea. Ibi columna nulla marmorea, hîc innumeræ. "Ibi in circuitu, extra chorum, fornices planæ, hîc "arcuatæ et clavatæ. Ibi murus super pilarios direc- "tus cruces à choro sequestrabat, hîc vero, nullo in- "terstitio, cruces a choro divisæ in unam clavem quæ "in medio fornicis magnæ consistit, quæ quatuor "pilariis principalibus imititur, convenire videntur. "Ibi cœlum ligneum egregiâ picturâ decoratum, hîc "fornix ex lapide et topho levi decenter composita est. "Ibi triforium unum, hic duo in choro et in ala ec-

" clesiæ tertium. Quæ omnia visu melius quam auditu " intelligere volenti patebunt." Gervas. De Combust. Dorob. Ecc. Twysd. col. 1302.

[Q] It cannot be questioned that the primary object of the religious inventors and improvers of ecclesiastical pointed architecture was to excite awe and devotion, for which purpose they studied sublimity rather than richness, as Mr. Whittington supposes, the latter quality being secondary and quite subservient to the former. Hence we cannot prefer the portal of Amiens cathedral, nor even that of Rheims, which he gives us a plate of, to that of York, or even to that of Litchfield, after all the violence the latter has sustained in a formal siege: we cannot, I say, prefer that of Amiens in consequence of " armies of saints, prophets, martyrs, and angels lining " the door way, crowding the walls, and swarming round " all the pinnacles." Survey, p. 149. According to this rule, the façade of the church of Wells would be the most beautiful of English cathedrals. For our part, we think that the *Simplex munditiis* of Horace is the rule of all that is beautiful, and that a due proportion rather than a profusion of statuary and other ornaments, is a recommendation of pointed as well as of other architecture. In the same taste the writer repeatedly extols the church of Amiens for being " all windows," p. 151 and 153, than which, in the opinion of Mr. Burke, nothing

can be more injurious to the effect of the sublime. The surveyor of French architecture dwells, with rapture, on the size of the French portals, p. 127; but surely a door may be too high as well as too low, and few persons of taste would admire a door which, with its ornaments, reaches to a great deal more than half the height of the whole building to which it serves as an entrance, as is the case with his boasted cathedral of Rheims, and still more so with that of Rouen. The neighbouring abbey church of St. Nicaise was in this particular, as well as in the general appearance of its façade, far preferable to the cathedral of Rheims. The surveyor reproaches the English cathedrals with having only three parallel aisles, whereas some of those in France have five, p. 117. The latter undoubtedly had their advantage in the ancient service; which use, however, the side chapels in most of our great churches answered better. With respect to effect, it is most certain that more than one aisle on each side of the nave appears to be an excrescence, and takes off from the unity of the grand design. It is like having more than two hands or two legs. The French boast of the portal of Rheims, which is far surpassed by that of York, especially in its restored state, as Mr. Carter has exhibited it. Again they boast of the choir of Beauvais, to which we oppose that of Lincoln, stripped as the latter has been since the Reformation, and now disgraced as it is by a pro-

fane disgusting altar piece. Lastly, they boast of the nave of Amiens: with this (though seen to so great an advantage in consequence of all the rich and judicious decorations which the late good Bishop La Motte added to it) we hesitate not to compare that of York.

THE END.

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Fig. 2

Fig. 1

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

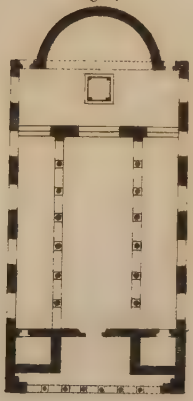

Fig. 5

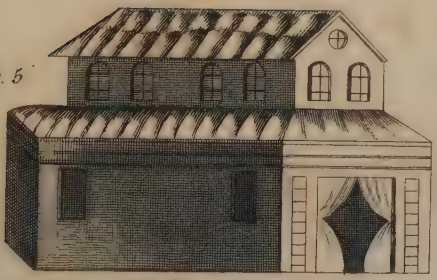

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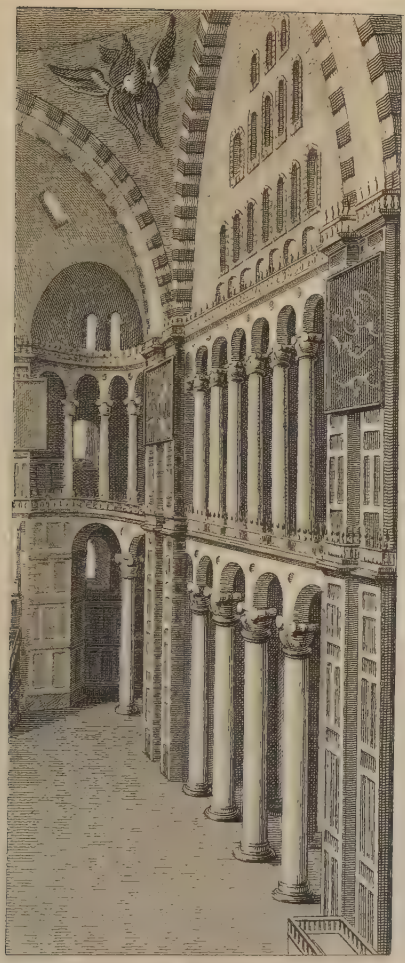
Fig. 7



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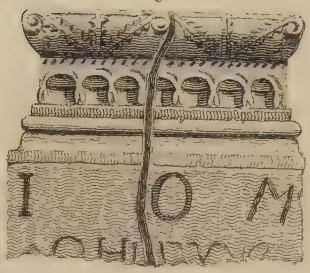

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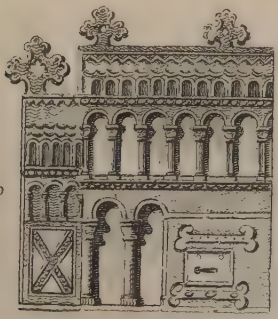

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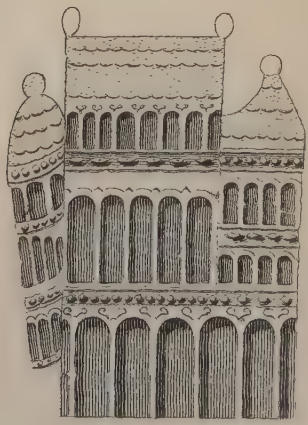

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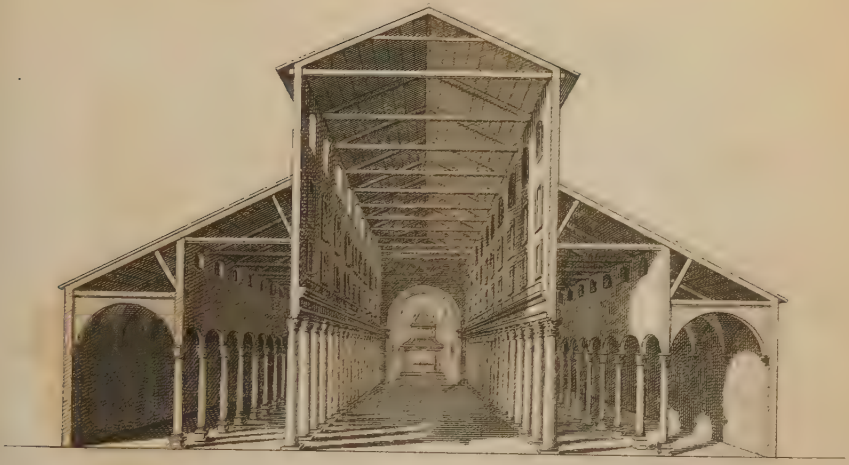

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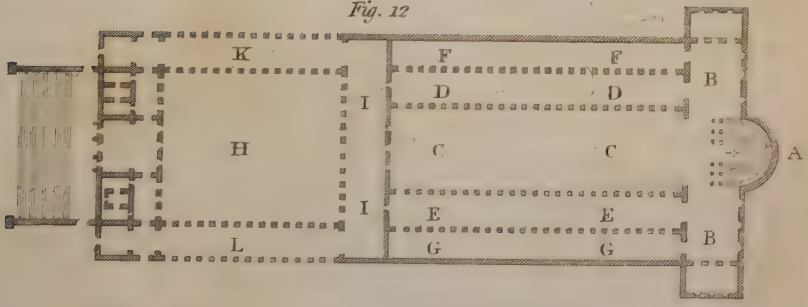

A *The Absis*

B *The Transepts*

C *The Nave*

DE *The high side Aisles*

FG *The low side Aisles*

H *The Atrium, or open Court*

I *The Narthex, or Penitents porch*

KL *North & South porches*

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Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

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Fig. 21

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

Fig. 20

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

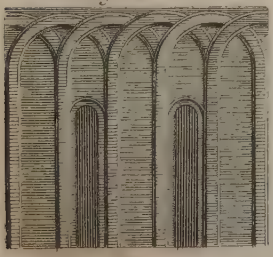

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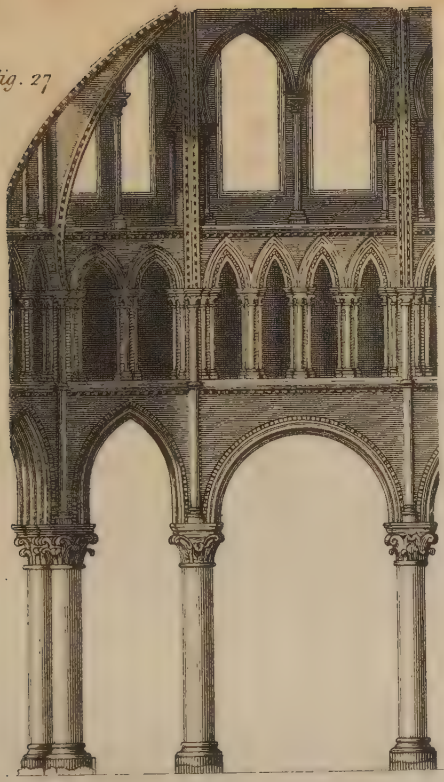
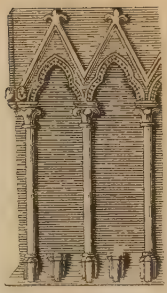
Fig. 27





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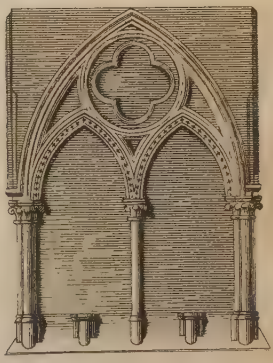

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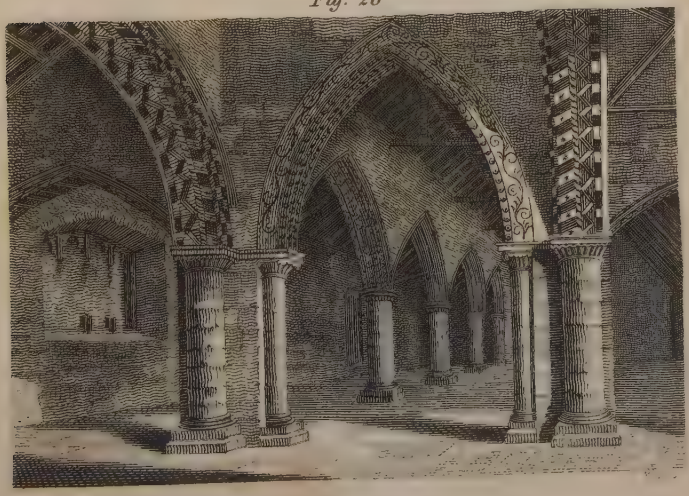

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Fig. 31

Fig. 32

Fig. 33.

Fig. 34

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A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Cathedral Church of Ely;

WITH SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS.

By GEORGE MILLERS, M.A.
MINOR CANON AND SACRIST.

. . . . . res antiquæ laudis et artis.
VIRG. GEORG.

THE SECOND EDITION.

London:
Printed by Luke Hansard & Sons,
FOR JOHN WHITE, HORACE'S HEAD, FLEET-STREET.

1808.

TO

THE HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND

JAMES

LORD BISHOP OF ELY,

THIS ATTEMPT

TO DESCRIBE THE BEAUTY AND MAGNIFICENCE

OF THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ELY,

WHICH HAS RECEIVED

SO MUCH IMPROVEMENT

FROM HIS LORDSHIP'S TASTE AND BOUNTY,

IS,

WITH SENTIMENTS OF THE HIGHEST RESPECT

AND GRATITUDE,

DEDICATED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

MUCH OBLIGED AND DUTIFUL SERVANT,

GEORGE MILLERS.

PREFACE.

When this little work was first committed to the press, I had no farther expectation, than that of it's becoming useful to the public as a guide to strangers who might visit the Cathedral of Ely. No church in England has had a better historian than that cathedral; but a printed account of it in a small and portable form has hitherto been wanting. This deficiency it was my wish to supply. The examination of all the parts of our magnificent church had long been my favourite amusement. I had attentively read Mr. Bentham's great work, as well as some others on the subject of architectural antiquity. I had made careful and minute observation. I had compared this venerable structure with some other ancient ecclesiastical edifices; had conversed with a few friends, engaged in the same pursuit, and in some degree benefited by the remarks of intelligent visitors, whom I had accompanied

in viewing the buildings. It was my custom to take short notes of what I acquired in any of these several ways, and to arrange them under proper heads for my own use, without any design of making them public. When at length I conceived that intention, I was thus possessed of a sufficient stock of materials, from which I selected what seemed most useful for general information, and I printed them in a cheap and portable volume. It was not long before I had the satisfaction of finding that I had attained the humble object at which I aimed. Those who made use of my little work as their guide, in viewing the church, found in it an explanation of what most excited their curiosity. But some persons who met with it at a distance from Ely, complained that it stood in need of engravings, in order to render much of the description contained in it clear and intelligible. For distant readers, or indeed for any readers who felt sufficiently interested about my publication to notice such a deficiency, the work was not well calculated. Elegant and costly embellishments to it never were in my contemplation, for they would have constituted an expence too hazardous for me to encounter.

In

In the meantime, certain circumstances appeared to point so strongly to me as the author of the performance in question, that I thought it no longer worth while to keep a secret of such trifling importance. Some kind friends now proposed that I should print a new edition, or at least a limited number of copies, on better paper, with a few plates, and with such additional matter, as further observation and reflection might have suggested to me. Their advice was powerfully seconded by a liberal offer of assistance in the expence that might be incurred respecting any engravings to illustrate my improved edition. Had I hesitated more than I did, in accepting this encouraging proposal, my judgment must have been decided by the approbation and patronage of that venerable Prelate, who interests himself so zealously in whatsoever relates to the Cathedral over which he presides, as not to think even this humble endeavour to make it better known, unworthy of his favourable notice. The condescension and the kindness which have procured me from his Lordship and from some others, both public bodies and individuals, a most flattering contribution of plates demand my warmest acknowledgments. I request

those liberal contributors to accept my thanks collectively, and to approve of my inscribing the several engravings to each of them in particular.

Under these circumstances, I submit my book to the public with my name prefixed to it, and take upon myself all it's errors and imperfections, whatever they may be. In selecting subjects for the engravings which accompany it, I have fixed on such as would best illustrate my descriptions, and such also as had either not been given by Mr. Bentham, or were not correctly and adequately executed by his engraver. Of the latter sort, indeed, there is but one, The Prior's Entrance. Of the rest, not one is to be found in The History of Ely; and only one, I believe, any where else. A very indifferent view of the west front is given in Willis's History of Cathedral Churches. I trust that the taste and execution, and, what in such cases is of more real importance, the accuracy and fidelity of the engravings here given, will meet with general approbation; and that those of the vault and soffit in the Conventual church, and of the door arch of St. Mary's, will in particular be acceptable to curious antiquaries.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I CANNOT again dismiss my work from the press, without a warm and grateful acknowledgment of that favourable reception of it, which has so soon, and so unexpectedly, prepared the way for a Second Edition. The interval of a few months, cannot be supposed to have afforded me opportunity of encreasing my stock of materials, by a more industrious examination, either of the buildings themselves, or of documents relating to them. If the present Edition have any advantage over the former, it can only consist in the result of a very careful revision, the correction of the very few typographical errata, the omission of a paragraph or two which seemed useless, the insertion of two or three more, which are apposite, but not very material, and the amendment of an unimportant inaccuracy in the Chronological Table.

GEORGE MILLERS.

Ely, April 7th, 1808.

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INTRODUCTION.

When the Fine Arts are employed in the service of Religion, they excite a warmer and a more general admiration, than in their connexion with any other subject. The fact is too abundantly ascertained to need any proof; and the remark is introduced here only to be claimed as fully, and perhaps especially, applicable to the Ecclesiastical Architecture of the middle ages. It has indeed been vehemently contended by the devoted partisans of Grecian art, that this admiration is misplaced. Not only affected pretenders to taste, but men of really great name, have spoken contemptuously, and even opprobriously, of Norman gloom and Gothic glare; of the monstrous want of proportion and harmony; of the barbarism of points and pinnacles; of the offensive multiplicity of angular parts; and

of many other deformities, deficiencies, redundancies, and incongruities; in short, of the total impossibility of reconciling those styles, with a system of rules which our ecclesiastical architects never acknowledged, because they never knew. Yet, after all, their works are, and ever will be admired; and not only by the vulgar, the ignorant, and the prejudiced, but by men of enlightened minds and of cultivated taste. Few and inconsiderable indeed are those, who enter an ancient cathedral church without being instantly, on the first view, impressed with a sentiment of devout awe. It's wide or lofty arches, it's massive or clustered columns, it's spreading vaults and lengthened aisles, conspire to produce an effect, which is not produced in the same or in similar force and universality, by any other style of building whatsoever. They lift up the heart to that awful Being, who, though he "dwelleth not in temples made "with hands," must be worshipped in them; and therefore it is their distinctive and appropriate merit, that they excite those suitable emotions. A spectator thus impressed, will scarcely satisfy himself with the vague admiration excited by a general view. He will dwell, with varied yet uniform delight, on

on particular parts. He will feel an interest in learning, by what benefactor and in what age, the several additions, reparations, and embellishments, which successively engage his attention, were executed. He will be desirous of knowing what can be known, of these superb and venerable monuments of ancient piety.

A great mass of information on this subject, lies scattered in various topographical works of formidable bulk. Particular histories of most of the cathedral churches in England and Wales, have been written by one eminent antiquary, Browne Willis. Of some of them, later and fuller histories have also been published. That of this Church, by the late Rev. James Bentham, a prebendary of it, is so well known, and so highly valued, as to render any commendation here superfluous. But these books are neither commonly accessible, nor easily consulted. Shorter accounts have therefore been compiled, of some of those venerable structures, containing a selection of the most useful particulars in a commodious form. But in general, and where no such convenient manual is to be had, the verger or sub-sacrist is the oral historian of

the place, whose lean and legendary tradition will oftener provoke a smile from the curious visitor, than gratify his desire of information.

On the elaborate works above mentioned, and on many others of the same sort, it is obvious to remark, that they are very deficient in architectural description. When Willis wrote, that subject had so little engaged the attention of antiquaries, that it is no wonder we do not find in his book, an accurate discrimination of styles. Mr. Bentham's valuable work made, indeed, an important addition to the public knowledge of ancient architecture. His fifth and sixth sections have been always very generally and justly valued. If some part of what is taught in them was already known, to some few persons of taste and curiosity, it was then first collectively communicated to the public. By what has appeared since on the same topics, it has been confirmed, illustrated, and extended, but it has not been disproved or corrected. But what he has there delivered in general, he has left his readers to apply. His description of the Church is short and scanty. If mine be more ample and particular, I am sure that those who are most competent to judge,

judge, will not be inclined to allow me much more merit, than that of having industriously applied the general principles I have learned from him. They will trace them throughout my remarks.

I certainly ought to warn my readers that I have not gone deep into antiquarian research. I lay no arrogant claim to the merit of originality, where a very great part of what I have to tell, has been told before. Professing myself principally indebted to Bentham, and to other authors in different and inferior degrees, I do not think myself obliged to particularize how much I owe to each. Neither do I crowd my margin with a parade of reference to ancient records or to printed books. This might have been done without much real trouble, but it would have given more appearance of industrious research, than my little leisure has allowed me in reality to make. I only request my readers to be persuaded in general, that I advance nothing which may not be proved by some authentic document, written or printed; excepting only those observations, which being obviously or professedly matter of conjecture or opinion, cannot make others, unless by their own assent, part-

ners in any error into which I may fall. That I have fallen into some, there can be no doubt. But I confidently persuade myself, that well-informed antiquaries will make candid allowance for them. If they should moreover admit, that the topics are tolerably well chosen, correctly stated, properly combined, and sufficiently clear and particular to answer the purpose intended; and if strangers in general, should find here such information as they want; I shall rest abundantly satisfied with the success of this effort.

The materials of this little Work will be disposed in the following order:

I.—A Sketch of the principal Characteristics of English Church Architecture, in the several ages into which it is usually divided; with a few introductory remarks to the whole; and, subjoined to each part, an enumeration of the specimens now to be seen at Ely, of the work of that age to which it relates.

II.—A particular Survey of all the Buildings; with such remarks and further information, as may seem usefully explanatory.

III.—A

III.—A short Account of some Ancient Buildings, not constituting a part of the Convent, but particularly connected with it.

And, as an Appendix, a Chronological List of all the Dignitaries on each establishment, conventual and cathedral, from the first foundation to the present year—A Summary Chronology of the erection, principal improvements, and reparations of the Buildings —And a Table of the principal dimensions. These, being placed at the end of the book, may be the more convenient for occasional reference.

I.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.

THOUGH the subject of this part be general, and as applicable to any other cathedral church as to this, yet it will contain nothing but what is necessary or useful, or at least pertinent. It seems that these particulars may be better expressed collectively, than if they were separately detailed as they may be wanted.

Those who conducted the reparations, improvements, and enlargements of our cathedral churches, whether prelates or ecclesiastical communities, seem to have had no notion of assimilating the restored or added parts, to the style of the original structure. Every thing is in the taste of the age in which it was executed. The result is, that most of those churches exhibit an incongruous mixture of discordant styles. This discrepancy, however, does not produce all the offensive effect that might be supposed. For, in the first place, it is not always obvious to a common

mon observer, and is only detected by those who are conversant with the characteristics of the architecture of different æras; such as the arch more or less pointed, the conjoined or detached columns, the scantiness or exuberance of ornament, &c. Secondly, it very generally happens that some considerable portion of a church is of an uniform style, as the whole nave, or all that is east of the transepts. Either of these may be sufficient to occupy the mind, and, what lies beyond, may be considered as fading into indefinite distance, so that it's parts are not particularly noticed. But what is more than all, every one of these styles has the common property of producing the same train of ideas. All impress the notion of appropriation to sacred purposes. All in unison proclaim, this is "the house of God, and the place where his "honour dwelleth." This awful impression of sanctity and Divine Presence, may in a great measure absorb or suppress the infinitely lower consideration, of the discordance of parts. But, after all, this discordance has to us even a positive advantage. If architects in different past ages, had, in their reparations of ancient edifices, aimed at imitating the original style, there is no reason to suppose that they

they would have produced closer imitations than those which we see in the present age. Modern buildings, denominated Gothic, are by no means unusual. Many of them are obviously and undeniably ridiculous; some have a tolerable general resemblance; a few are executed with considerable taste; but it is to be apprehended that very few indeed exhibit such chaste and correct imitation, as that a critical and practised eye will not detect deviations from the strictness of ancient models. If this same incorrect copying had always prevailed, all distinction between the productions of different ages, must have been utterly confounded long ago. It would have been impossible to make out any thing of the history of ancient architecture. The antiquary would have been deprived of the delight he now feels in those curious investigations, in which, though he cannot clear up all particular points to his full conviction, and some important ones are yet very doubtful, he is guided by certain general lines of discrimination of which he can entertain no doubt.

Different churches have departed in different degrees from original uniformity; some but inconsiderably, others much and variously.

ously. There were sundry causes of this diversity. A cathedral church was many years in building. What was begun under one bishop, was continued by a second and third, and finished by a fourth or fifth. By that time a change of style might have taken place. Most of them have, at different times, suffered great damage by fires or violent storms. Many have been greatly injured, or even laid waste, in those furious contests, which sometimes arose between the monks and the townsmen. To these necessary occasions of repair or restoration, may be added the numerous additions and improvements made by the zeal of the convents, or the munificence of prelates. To these two latter causes, our church of Ely owes much of its magnificence and beauty; and contains a very unusual number of degrees on this scale. It may not be too much to say, that it approaches nearer to a complete study of ecclesiastical architecture than any other in the kingdom. Including the ruins of the conventual church, we have specimens of the style of every age, from the time of the heptarchy to the perfection and subsequent extinction of religious architecture, a little before the time of the reformation. The earliest building

of

of which we have any remains, must have been erected soon after A. D. 673, in which year Queen Etheldreda began her foundation. The latest is inscribed A. D. 1534. And it ought to be added, that the date of almost every part is ascertained by authentic history, or original record, and very few left to be determined by conjecture and comparison.

As each of those several styles superseded, or rather, perhaps, grew out of the preceding gradually, it is not easy to fix for the termination of any one of them, and the commencement of the next, a certain and definite date, which shall not be liable to exception. The reader is requested to bear this observation in mind, lest he should suspect that some of our antiquities are referred here to wrong ages. As correct a line as any may be drawn by the reigns of kings. It will coincide, to a sufficient degree of accuracy, with history and records.

In drawing up the following characteristics, I have taken some pains to make them as correct as I was able. Many of them are taken from books; Mr. Bentham's two sections, V. and VI. being the main groundwork. Others are the result of my own observation, at Ely and elsewhere. Some have been suggested by friends.

friends. They consist of more particulars than are any where else to be found together in one place, so far as I know. But if I have added some strokes to a sketch, I do not presume to think I have finished a picture. If any one of better judgment will correct and improve it, I shall be thankful. The reader is in particular requested to take notice, that what is advanced of the Saxon age, is given with much caution and diffidence. Genuine and indisputable remains of that age are very rare. It cannot be doubted that many small buildings erected in Norman times, have been mistaken for Saxon. In such cases, it must be extremely difficult to discriminate when history is silent, ambiguous, or obscure; and when conjectural judgment is to settle the point. On this topic a better opportunity will hereafter occur of making some additional observations. It is not likely that a more complete or earlier specimen is in existence, than the ruins at Ely. It will be understood, that these are principally, but by no means exclusively, kept in view.

One thing more seems proper in this place; and that is, to give a reason for the nomenclature which is adopted. It is that which seems to be now most generally agreed upon; and

and if there be authority for some few variations from it, both in dates and adjunct terms or qualifying epithets, they seem too minute and unimportant to make sensible differences, or to be at all worth contesting. The buildings erected in this country, during the prevalence of the Saxon and the Norman invaders, are, with perfect propriety, denominated respectively from them. When those two nations, in process of time, were blended into a third, in manners, language, arts, and laws, differing from both, and resembling each, it seems right that the architecture which then came into use, should bear a correspondent and significant denomination, and be called English. The Goths, who had ceased many centuries before that time to exist as a distinct people, having sunk into the population of the several nations they had over-run, could have no better claim to give their name to that style of building, than other nations of whom our ancestors at that time had never heard, the Peruvians or the Chinese. The term Gothic was not contemporary with the style; and was intended to be contemptuous and opprobrious. The Italians, who appear to have invented it, indiscriminately called every thing Gothic which was not

not Grecian or Roman. Most of our topographical writers have used the word in the same vague and general sense. So that with them, it is indefinite as well as absurd. It is only within a few years that it has been exclusively appropriated to the pointed style; and the sooner it is utterly disused the better. Since ecclesiastical architecture has been accurately and successfully studied, every man of taste and judgment has been dissatisfied with so improper an appellation. In the account of Durham Cathedral, published by the Antiquarian Society, the more appropriate and honourable name English, was, I believe, first substituted for it, and most satisfactory reasons given for the substitution. This new term has since been used by other writers. The adoption of it by Mr. Britton, in his Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain, seems likely to contribute greatly to it's currency and establishment. I should not think myself and my work of importance enough to be among the first to adopt an innovation, but there is such authority for this change, so much propriety and consequent probability of general usage and permanency, that I cannot hesitate.

SKETCH OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE.

1. Age.—SAXON; from the conversion of the Saxons to the Norman conquest in 1066.

2. Age.—NORMAN; from 1066 to 1200, comprehending the reigns of Will. I. Will. II. Henry I. Stephen, Henry II. and Richard I.

3. Age.—EARLY ENGLISH; from 1200 to 1300, comprehending the reigns of John, Hen. III and Edw. I.

4. Age.—ORNAMENTED ENGLISH; from 1300 to 1460, comprehending a small part of the reign of Edw. I. and those of Edw. II. Edw. III. Rich. II. Hen. IV. V. and VI.

5. Age.—FLORID ENGLISH; from 1460 to 1537, the dissolution of religious houses; comprehending the reigns of Edw. IV. and V. Rich. III. Hen. VII. and VIII.

1. *Characteristics of the Saxon Style.*

Arches — semicircular — frequently very plain—sometimes decorated with various sorts of mouldings, not only on the face, but in the soffit, which in some instances (as in the ruins at Ely) is entirely occupied by them—double, triple, or quadruple, each resting on two columns, and generally faced with a different moulding, which is frequently double, so that upon the whole, there are six or eight concentric semicircles of them; and as each semicircle projects somewhat beyond the next, a moulding is placed under the projecting parts, usually the same as that upon the face of it.

Columns — single — cylindrical, hexagonal, or octagonal, on a square plinth—strong, and short in proportion to the span of the arch—circumference often equal to the height—shafts often adorned with spiral or fluted carving, with lozenge, herring-bone, zig-zag, or hatched work—the capitals indented with fissures of different lengths, forms, and directions; the divisions thus formed, variously sloped off, or hollowed out towards the top—of which the figures will convey a better idea than

than description (see Plate II.); sometimes decorated with rude imitations of some correspondent member of a Grecian order, as leaves or volutes—and in these ornaments, much and even sportive variety is displayed; only opposite ones being commonly alike.

Windows—of one light—with semicircular heads—of very small dimensions—sometimes so very small, that they are rather narrow loops than windows, about three feet high, and six or eight inches wide, expanding inwards through the thickness of the wall.

Walls—enormously thick, without external buttresses.

Roof—vaulted. The very few remains of Saxon vaulting are mostly in crypts, as at York and Winchester.

Ornaments.—The Saxon churches seem to have been bare of decoration, excepting what has been before mentioned to have been sometimes even profusely bestowed on the arches and columns.

Form and Extent.—They were parallelograms, divided into a body and a chancel, between which was an ornamented arch—the chancel sometimes of equal, sometimes of somewhat less breadth than the body, and at the east end turned in a semicircle—in

greater churches, the body divided longitudinally by two rows of columns into a nave and side aisles—no transepts or towers till the latter part of the Saxon age. Whether their churches were ever higher than one tier of arches and a range of windows above (as at Ely) may be questioned. Richard, prior of Hexham, speaks of three stories, which implies another tier of arches; but if he is rightly so understood, this seems an exception from a general rule, for the church of Hexham is spoken of by all writers who mention it, as the glory of Saxon churches in the seventh century. Afterwards, about 970, a considerable change took place—transepts came into general use—with a square tower at the intersection, rising but little above the roof, and chiefly used as a lantern to give light to that part of the church—towers were also erected at the west end—the use of them coincides with the introduction of bells, at least of large and heavy ones. The extent of Saxon churches was moderate. The comparative dimensions of the Saxon and Norman churches at Ely, may be seen in the Appendix.

The venerable ruins of the conventual church of St. Etheldreda, are an ample and noble specimen of this style. But it is not our only

A SAXON SOFFIT & CAPITALS in the CONVENTUAL CHURCH.

Pl. II.

Drawn by C. Shepherd. Engraved by W. Woolnoth.

To the Rev.d George Owen Cambridge, M.A. Archdeacon of Middlesex and Prebendary of Ely.

This Plate, engraven at his expence, is gratefully inscribed by his much obliged & obedient Servant, George Millers.

only specimen. From the most striking similarity, a crypt in one of the prebendal houses, and the columns of St. Mary's church, must be referred to the same age.

2. *Characteristics of the Norman Style.*

Arches—semicircular in general—of far greater amplitude than the Saxon—with less minute ornament—but frequently bounded by a single moulding—sometimes indeed by more—but often none at all—soffit always plain.

In the second tier sometimes two smaller equal arches under one larger, with a column of moderate size (or even comparatively slender) between them.

In the third tier, generally three together, the middle one higher and broader than the others, and opened for a window, all the three occupying a space equal to the span of a lower arch.

Arches of entrance profusely adorned (see Plate VII.), not only with mouldings but with foliage, wreaths, masques, or whole figures of men and animals in relief; in short, the most

capricious sports of a wild imagination, extravagant, grotesque, ludicrous, and even grossly indecent.

Before the end of this period, nay even pretty early in it, some instances are found of pointed arches—they are sparingly introduced—one or more tiers of them appear at the top of a building, all the lower ones being round—sometimes they are alternate—sometimes one is inserted, capriciously as it were, among several round—they are for the most part obtusely, but in some instances even sharply pointed—but are always wide—standing on heavy columns, or garnished with mouldings, or both—something, in short, which marks them for Norman—They seem indistinct approaches to the pointed style, which cannot be allowed to have assumed its form, and to deserve the appellation of a style, till the sharp-pointed arch rested on the slender column, and was graced with the leafy moulding. And it does not seem safe to place this earlier than the reign of John.—There was a third sort of arch, sometimes, but very rarely occurring. It is called the horse-shoe arch, and is an arc of a circle somewhat greater than the semicircle.

Columns

Columns—huge massive piers of various forms—sometimes, but seldom, with a simple shaft, and that cylindrical, hexagonal, or octagonal, and in general spirally fluted, or adorned with lozenges, net-work, &c. in alt or bass relief—they are most frequently of a compound form; the body of the pier being sometimes of a rectilinear, sometimes of a curvilinear form, and, on two or more sides of it, various portions of columns, or of flat pillars, applied to, and worked up with it—sometimes four stout round columns joined together, with or without angular parts appearing between each two—or square with a small round column at each corner—in short the variety of form very great, and that in the same range—much higher than the Saxon columns—the proportion of circumference to height much greater—capitals frequently plain—the most usual ornament is a sort of volute—in some instances flowers, leaves, shells, human heads, animals (see Plate III.)—can scarcely be said to have a regular base, but stand on a strong plinth, accommodated to the shape of the pier.

Windows—still narrow and rounded—but higher—sometimes two and three together.

Roof—vaulted with stone—plain strong groining—no tracery—but the groins sometimes laced on one or both sides with a moulding.

Walls—of prodigious thickness, few external buttresses, and those projecting a very little way from the wall, flat, broad, and generally without ornament.

Ornaments.—Besides those already mentioned incidentally, there were ranges of arches and pilasters where there was nothing to support, but which were intended to fill up void spaces, interior or exterior, and relieve their tedious uniformity—very common on the inside of the north and south walls—they sometimes intersected each other, and so produced those compartments, which are said to have given the first hint of the pointed arch—the mouldings also, which all continued in use, or rather were increased in number and variety, were employed in profusion about these ornamental arches, especially in conspicuous places on the outside, as on the west front—they were also placed alone as a fascia between two tiers of arches internally—or over or under a row of windows externally. The most usual were the chevron work or zig-zag moulding

—the

—the embattled frette, the triangular frette, the nail-head, the billet, the cable, the hatched, the lozenge, the wavey, the pellet moulding, the nebule; they used also the torus or round, and the cavetto or hollow, moulding of the Grecian orders—most of these if not all were also in use in the Saxon age, and besides those here enumerated, many others may be occasionally observed, which have not received, and to which it might be very difficult to give, distinctive names—ranges of small arches, not resting on pilasters, but on brackets adorned with carved heads, called the corbel-table, are often found, along the whole building, immediately below the eaves or battlement—carved faces are also observed in the spandrils of arches—and are used as capitals of the ornamental pilasters—or as corbels, to support what is called the canopy or exterior semicircle of moulding on arches of entrance—or above the key-stone of those arches—there are instances of whole figures over doors in mezzo relievo, the nearest approach the Normans seem to have made to a statue.

Form and Extent.—They always had transepts—a tower at the intersection, stronger, and

and somewhat loftier, than before—no spires —east ends semicircular—three tiers of arches and columns one above another.

In all dimensions much ampler—with a general air of cumbrous massive grandeur—the Normans were fond of stateliness and magnificence, and though they retained the other characteristics of the Saxon style, by this amplification of dimensions, they made such a striking change as might justly be entitled to the denomination which it received at its first introduction among our Saxon ancestors, of "a new kind of architecture."

Enlarged dimension is the only criterion which has been established, between the Saxon and Norman styles. It has been thought too vague, and certainly is so; for it is perceptible only in large edifices, such as cathedral and conventual churches, which have transepts, side aisles, and arches tier above tier. But there are many parish churches, built in the Norman age, which, from the simplicity of their form, and the smallness of their dimensions, have been taken for Saxon buildings; and which, having none of the grander Norman features, it

it is extremely difficult to discriminate. Mr. Wilkins, in his excellent paper in the twelfth volume of the Archæologia, proposes another distinction, more precise and scientific; the different proportions of the columns. He states the height of the Saxon column to be from four to six diameters, and that of the Norman only two. He does not seem to admit any difference, in this respect, in Norman buildings. It is, however, apprehended that such differences exist; and one instance at least will by and by be noticed in its place. It is not pretended, that they are so great, as to come near the Saxon scale. And if this criterion be not absolutely, it is at least competently, definite; and a careful observation and comparison of specimens would make it still more so.

Let us not quit this topic, without paying a due tribute of admiration to the liberality and magnificence of those, whose mighty works we have been endeavouring to characterize. Almost all the cathedrals in England and Wales, a prodigious number of splendid monasteries, and parish churches in every part of the kingdom, were erected by them in little more than one century!

Specimens

Specimens at Ely.

A vaulted roof at the end of the conventual church.

The great western tower up to the first battlements.

The south wing of the tower, or rather the south-west transept.

The ruins of the north-west transept.

The nave and its aisles—except the windows of the second tier and those of the lower, all but three on the south side.

The greatest part of the north transept.

The south transept—excepting some windows.

The grand door arches on the south side.

The remains of the chapter-house.

Part of the west wall of the convent.

3. *Characteristics of the Early English Style.*

Arches—sharply pointed—high in proportion to their span—in the upper tiers, two or more comprehended under one—these finished in trefoil or cinquefoil heads instead of points, the separating columns very slender.

Columns—slender—a central shaft surrounded by several smaller—a common base—and an elegant capital of foliage for the whole.—(See Plate IV.)

Windows

Drawn by O. Shepherd.

Engraved by W. Woolnoth.

To the Reverend the Master and Fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge,

This Plate, engraven at their expence, is gratefully inscribed by their much obliged & obedient Servant, George Millers.

Windows—long, narrow, lancet-shaped—divided by one plain mullion—at most by two in upper tiers, finished at top with some simple ornament, as a lozenge or a trefoil—commonly having small marble shafts on each side, both within and without—two, three, or more together at the east or west end, and tier above tier.

Roof—high-pitched—vaulted—the earliest specimens with arches and cross-springers only—soon after, with many more springers, diverging from the imposts, and spreading over the vault, adorned along the longitudinal mid-line with flowers, figures, and various devices.

Walls—not of such excessive thickness as before—strengthened with external buttresses, which became necessary from the weakness of the arches and columns—buttresses very prominent, surmounted with pinnacles, adorned with crockets at all their angles, and terminating in a flower.

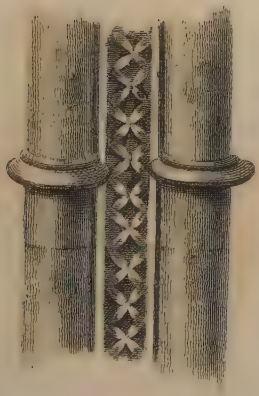
Ornaments—numerous—but chaste, simple and graceful—mouldings not so various as in the Norman style, and generally (if not universally) formed of some combination of leaves or flowers—used not only in the circumference of arches, especially of windows, but

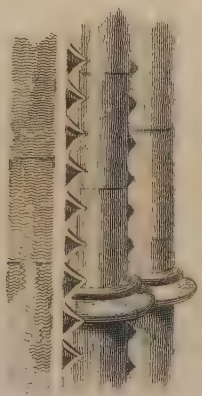
but the columns or pilasters completely laced down with them—trefoils, quatrefoils, cinquefoils, roses, mullets, bosses, pateræ, &c. in the spandrils, or above the key-stones of arches, and elsewhere—ornamental pinnacles on shrines, tombs, &c. extremely high and acute, with or without niches under them—small statues in niches variously disposed—niches with statues as large as life on west or east fronts—the niches with trefoil, &c. heads, or extremely acute angles formed by the meeting of two straight lines instead of arcs. All these ornaments more sparingly used in large intire edifices, than in smaller buildings, or added parts.

Form and Extent—The same in general—some particular changes introduced—loftier towers—spires—lanterns.

This is as proper a place as any to observe, that the transition from the Norman to the early English style, was from one extreme to another. In the former, every thing seems intended to give an idea of strength and heavy solidity; in the latter, of lightness and elegance. Yet the one is said to have risen immediately out of the other, as has been before remarked, by the production of the pointed arch in the intersections of the semi-

circular.





Drawn by G. Shepherd.

Engraved by W. Woolnoth.

To Lieutenant Colonel Seaffreson, of Dullingham House, Cambridgeshire.

This Plate, engraven at his expence, is gratefully inscribed by his much obliged & obedient Servant, George Millers.

circular. This, as is happily observed by that learned antiquary, Mr. Milner, of Winchester, was "the parent germ," from which all that has been here described, and yet remains to be described, arose by easy and natural connexion.

Specimens at Ely.

The galilee or west portico.

Three windows on the east side of the south transept.

The six eastern arches, with their aisles.

The remains of the monuments of bishops Northwold, Kilkenny, and de Luda.

Part of the ruins of the cloister.

The deanery.

4. *Characteristics of the Ornamented English Style.*

Arches—less acute—the form often changing—but for the most part opener.

Columns—the central and detached shafts now worked together into one, from experience of the weakness of the former (see Plate V.)—combinations of them various.

Windows—larger—divided into several lights by many mullions—spreading and dividing at

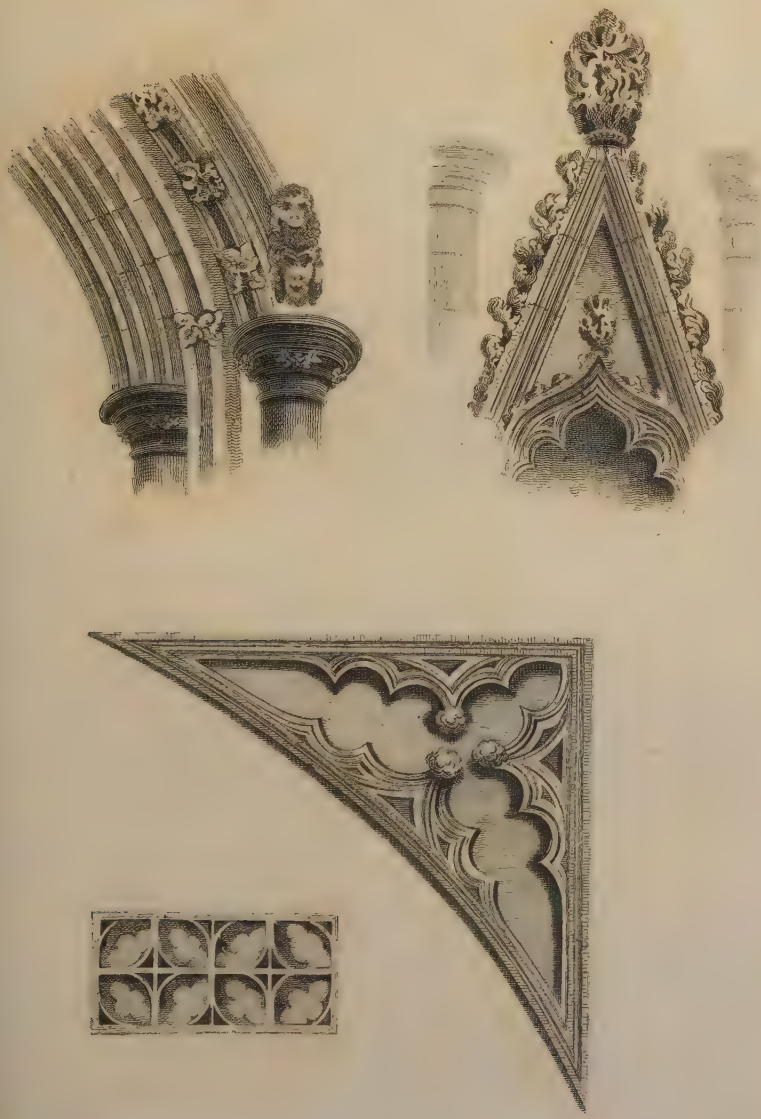
at top into leaves, flowers, fans, wheels, and an endless variety of fanciful forms—these marks constant, but proportionate breadth varying much—after having expanded considerably in the reigns of Edward I. and II. they grew narrower again in proportion to their height in that of Edward III. and sharper—the head formed of lines just perceptibly curved—sometimes even by two straight lines—sometimes curved just above the supporting sides, and then rectilinear to the point—eastern and western windows very ample and lofty, splendidly painted.

Roof—the vaulting more decorated—the principal ribs spreading from their imposts ran over the vault, in a kind of tracery, or rather with transoms divided it into many angular compartments, ornamented at the angles with heads, orbs, historical or legendary pictures, &c. coloured and gilded.

Ornaments—more various and elaborate—but not so elegant and graceful as in the early style—abundance of niches and tabernacles with statues—rows of small ornamental arches—pinnacles not so very lofty and taper, but more richly adorned with leaves, crockets, &c. great abundance of sculpture—sometimes enriched with painting and gilding—screens, stalls,

ORNAMENTS of the ORNAMENTED ENGLISH STYLE.

PL. V.



by G. Shepherd. Engrav'd by W. Woolnoth.

To the Reverend William Metcalfe, M.A. Minor Canon of Ely,

This Plate engraven at his expence, is gratefully inscribed by his much obliged Friend and Servant, George Millers.

stalls, doors, pannelled ceilings, and other ornaments, in carved and painted wood.

Specimens at Ely.

The octagonal building and turrets on the great tower.

The stone casing of the arches and columns of the tower.

The octagon and lantern.

The three arches east of them.

The stalls.

The windows of the lower and second tier of the six eastern arches.

The monument of bishop Hotham.

Trinity church.

The great gate, called Ely Porta.

Prior Crauden's chapel.

5. *Characteristics of the Florid English Style.*

Arches—flat and wide.

Windows—more open—flatter at top—upper part divided by transoms, rectilinear and rectangular, and often with a little embattled ornament.

Roof—ribs of the vaulting spread into such variety of parts, and so diffused upon the whole surface, and interspersed with such de-

licate sculpture, as to look like a web of fine lace-work, or embroidery thrown over it—clusters of pendent ornaments, like stalactites in caverns.

Ornaments—exuberant in every part—a lavish profusion of the most gorgeous fret-work, figures, and relievos, niches, and tabernacles, with canopies, pedestals, crockets, mouldings, tracery, fasciæ, pendents, and finials, of the richest design, most elaborate workmanship, and exquisite minuteness of finishing—a great variety of colouring and gilding—abundance of admirable sculpture in stone, wood, and brass—these exquisite performances are found in their highest beauty, in small chapels, monuments, screens, thrones, and stalls.

This summit of splendor, religious architecture had attained just before its final extinction.

Specimens at Ely.

The monuments of bishop Redman, and Tiptoft earl of Worcester.

The chapel of bishop Alcock.

The chapel of bishop West.

II.

PARTICULAR SURVEY OF THE BUILDINGS.

The West Front.

On account of its height and breadth, it should be viewed from a competent distance. A good point of view may easily be found on the palace green. In its present state, it must be admired for its impressive, though irregular, grandeur (see Plate I.). It must originally have been far more grand. At present, all harmony of parts is destroyed, by the disproportionate height of the tower, the want of the north wing, and the addition of the portico; which, however beautiful in itself, has no proper connexion with the rest, and is indeed rather an awkward appendage. Supposing the tower no higher than the first battlements (it's original height), the north wing standing, and exactly correspondent to the south (which is still perfect), none of the ranges of arches and columns concealed, but all displayed in every part equally, in all their multitude, richness, and variety, and it will

 surely

surely be impossible to conceive a more magnificent and august façade. Such was the noble design of the architect. Whether it ever actually existed, does not seem positively certain. For a few years, however, it probably did. It was built by Geoffry Ridel, the third bishop, who died in 1189. But Bentham and others say, that prelate did not live to finish it, having carried it nearly up to the first battlements; that nothing was done to it by his next four successors, and that it was at length completed by the munificent bishop Northwold, in the middle of the following century. This account seems very objectionable. The whole building, up to the first battlements, is perfectly uniform, which it most assuredly would not have been, had it remained seventy or eighty years incomplete. We should certainly in this, as in other such instances, have had a finish in the taste of the times. What was left undone by Ridel, was in all probability finished by his immediate successor, Longchamp. It was, by all accounts, very little; perhaps too little to be formally and especially recorded. What bishop Northwold actually did to the tower, we learn from the Historia Eliensis, in Wharton's Anglia Sacra. "Ipse construxit de novo turrim ligneam

"versus

" versus galilæam, ab opere cæmentario usque " ad summitatem." If he began from the stone work, he certainly did none of it. His turret was a spire of wood covered with lead, a species of decoration then lately come into fashion. It does not seem that any more can be made of the words.

The whole of bishop Ridel's work is Norman. The three ranges of arches, immediately above the basement, are semicircular; those of the fourth, have trefoil heads; all above them are of the pointed sort described among the characteristics of the Norman style, profusely adorned with the mouldings peculiar to that style. It is perhaps impossible to find any where else, so many of them together, and to have so good an opportunity of comparing them with the genuine pointed arch, which presently after succeeded. The part of the building, which comes next under consideration, and which is also next in point of antiquity, and but a few years posterior, is of the early English, with acute arches on slender columns, with appropriate mouldings.

But the whole tower, as we see it now, was not of bishop Ridel's erection. About two hundred years after his time, in the year 1380, an additional building of 64 feet in height, and

over that a spire, were raised upon the top of his tower. Mr. Bentham has inadvertently fallen into an inconsistency, in his account of the age of this superadded building. At page 148, he places it " in the reign of Henry VI.;" and at page 286, " in the year 1380." The former must be the error. Whether it was erected by the bishop, or by the convent, is not certain; but undoubtedly it was injudiciously done. Within a very few years (in 1405), it's injurious effect was experienced. It became necessary to strengthen the lower parts, by an additional facing of stone. This was not found permanently effectual. Great sums were again expended to the same purpose in 1454, and at other times. It is most probable, that this great incumbent weight crushed the north-west transept; and how near the south-west was to sharing the same fate, will presently be seen. Indeed this additional building, however it may be thought by some, to add to the beauty of the fabric, has been a frequent source of alarm and expenditure. The spire was standing when Mr. Bentham wrote; it was however taken down very soon after, but not without much grudging and remonstrance from the inhabitants of the town, who were loth

loth to lose it. So lately as 1802, the tower was strengthened and tied together with stone in the upper part.

The mention of this first instance of episcopal munificence, may afford as proper an opportunity, as can be taken, of observing, that when the abbey was erected into a see, in the year 1109, and it's possessions divided between the bishop and the community, bishop Hervey not only found means to secure to himself and his successors the better share, but moreover to exonerate himself and them of the charge of finishing, and subsequently maintaining, the buildings. Neither he, nor his immediate successor, Nigel, appear to have done any thing. The prior and convent, thinking themselves wronged in the division, were not likely to proceed with much spirit. But it was not long before bishop Ridel shewed, that he did not feel himself restricted by the cautious stipulations of his predecessor. His example was soon followed; and from those days to these, whensoever a fit occasion has occurred, the church of Ely has been indebted for improvements and embellishments to the voluntary and liberal, and sometimes splendid benefactions of her prelates.

The Western Portico, called The Galilee.

This portico, by which we enter the building, is a very beautiful specimen of that style which has been denominated early Gothic; and if it was, as is generally agreed, the work of bishop Eustachius, it is a very early one. Some doubts however seem to have been entertained on this subject. The style of the portico is so exactly like that of the presbytery, that it is natural enough to suspect, that they might be the work of the very same time, and even of the same architect; but bishop Northwold, who built the presbytery, is no where recorded to have done any thing at the west end, but at the top of the tower. On the contrary, there is abundant and concurrent testimony, that bishop Eustachius erected a building called the Galilee, below or near the tower. Now Eustachius died in 1215, and Northwold in 1254; having begun his building in 1235, and finished it in 1252. The interval of twenty, or of near forty years, is not too great to make it impossible, or even altogether improbable, that the same architect might be employed about both. It is well known that the present cathedral of St. Paul, which was thirty-five years in building, was begun

begun and finished under the same bishop, by the same architect, and the same master mason. If any one should chose to conjecture that something similar happened in this case, he seems pretty fairly at liberty. It might, however, be this difficulty, which made Dr. Tanner, in his communication to Browne Willis, in the first volume of the History of Mitred Abbies, conjecture, that by the galilee of Eustachius, was meant the western transepts. It is very strange that a man so conversant in such subjects, should have entertained such a notion. Nothing can be more obvious, than that the tower and its wings were one work. Either, then, the present portico is the galilee of Eustachius, or some other building in the same place, which, after standing some twenty or thirty years, was demolished, to make room for this; a very violent supposition, altogether unnecessary, and to which history gives no countenance. This being, therefore, the work of Eustachius, it must have been finished at least five years before the church of Salisbury was begun, which is making it a very early specimen of this style. The mouldings and other ornamented parts on the outside of this building, worn away by time or injury, were curiously restored

restored to their original beauty and finish, at the same time that the tower was repaired. A composition was used for that purpose, which seems to harden by exposure to the weather, and at present to have all the properties of solid stone.

The whole length, on each side internally, is occupied by two large pointed arches, comprehending under each, two tiers of subordinate ones; the upper being of five, the lower of three, supported by very slender columns. In the upper tiers, the middle arch has a cinquefoil head, and those on the sides of it, such parts of the cinquefoil as bring them within the circumscribing arch. The lower arches have trefoil heads; and all are decorated with that favourite moulding, which is described as resembling the inverted calyx of a flower. The arch of entrance, and that of communication with the tower, are very elegant, and adorned with curious mouldings of leaves and flowers, differently combined. On each side, they rest on five slender columns; a middle column, with detached shafts, separating them into two smaller arches. All the shafts are of Purbec marble, with elegant wreathed capitals of flowers and foliage. Below the arches, on

on the sides, are stone benches. Here the penitents used to sit, while they waited their re-admission into the church. This may account for the name, by which this vestibule was anciently called, the Galilee. As Galilee, bordering on the Gentiles, was the most remote part of the Holy Land from the holy city Jerusalem, so was this part of the building, most distant from the sanctuary, occupied by those unhappy persons, who, during their exclusion from the mysteries, were reputed scarcely, if at all, better than heathens.

A building of the same name, for the same use, and generally in the same place, was annexed to some other cathedral churches; if it was not an usual appendage. There is one at Durham, of much larger dimensions than this.

The Inside of the Tower.

From the galilee, we pass into the lower part of the tower. This has, very lately, been much improved and beautified; and upon this, and the repairs and embellishments already mentioned, a large sum has been expended by the Dean and Chapter, aided by a liberal benefaction from the Bishop. The old belfry floor, with the spars and beams for the

the bell-ropes, which lately disgraced it, are removed; and the noble and lofty arch, by which it communicates with the nave, is laid open to view in its full extent. Mr. Bentham seems to have wished, that, by the removal of those mean and unsightly obstructions, the small interior colonnades and windows of the tower might be brought into view. Those who had the planning and direction of the work, will, however, be more generally thought to have done more judiciously, in placing a plain vaulted roof, somewhat above the points of the arches; which gives as much height as can be viewed, without difficulty, by a spectator below. The internal ornaments of the tower, above that vault, are doubtless very beautiful, and will requite the pains of those persons, who have sufficient curiosity and strength of head, to ascend to the upper regions. It is to be wished, that the lower part of the inside work had been executed in a composition, as strong as that which was used so successfully in the upper part, and on the outside of the portico. Instead of which, it is quite a soft plaster, by no means safe from accidental injury or designed mischief.

It cannot but be remarked, that the four arches

arches which support the tower, are of a form very different from those in use at the time of it's erection ; which were either semicircular, or that sort of pointed arch used in Norman times, and of which there is such a multitude of small specimens in the upper part of the tower. They were of the latter kind. The outward face of the top of the western arch still remains perfect in it's original form, with the appropriate ornaments resting on corbels. But it is not to be seen without ascending the roof of the portico which intercepts the view from below. This place is not very easily accessible, and I have but lately explored it and ascertained this point. These four arches are known to have been strengthened, and faced with more stone, soon after the erection of the octagonal building at the top ; the weight of which was found to be so great, that there was danger of it's crushing all below that bore any part of it. A very large quantity of stone must have been added. The space between the columns was of course contracted, and the arch at the same time adjusted to the shape then in use. This was done in 1405.

The South-west Transept.

Through a door, in a grand arch of the same form and dimensions with that into the nave, but now blocked up with stud and plaster work, we enter the south wing of the tower, or the southwest transept. By those who shew the church to strangers, it is commonly called, somewhat indecorously indeed, but not unaptly, the work-shop. It is occupied by carpenters' benches, materials for occasional repairs, and a variety of other lumber. It is not intended to censure such an application of this part of the church. Some place, perhaps, must be so appropriated, and none more conveniently than this, which has now no peculiar use. It's beauties may still be satisfactorily contemplated. The variety and magnificence of it's interior decorations, shew very plainly that it was destined to some nobler purpose. It was the first part of the church, into which penitents were admitted from the galilee. It is extremely probable, if not certain, that upon those solemn occasions of restoring the lapsed to the bosom of the church, a grand procession was made, and the whole brotherhood assembled here for that purpose, and moved in order to the high

high altar. To the east of this, there was anciently a chapel opening into it, under a fine semicircular arch, embellished with zig-zag moulding, now blocked up and propped by a huge brick pier. Perhaps the penitents were required to pay their previous devotions in this. To what Saint it was dedicated does not appear. The grandeur of this part of the church, may be thus in great measure accounted for. Probably there was a further reason. Till within a few years, there was a communication between this transept and the north-east wing of the bishop's palace, over the road; which road is still called, from that circumstance, *The Gallery*. It was found to be a very inconvenient obstruction, and was accordingly taken away. That building was indeed of an age far later than that of the church; but it is likely that from the earliest time there had been something of the sort. The bishop might enter the church at this nearest point, pass through the chapel, and enter the south aisle at an arch, on the keystone of which are the arms of the see, between the tower and the west wall of the cloister.

The fabric has been much crushed and weakened, probably by the erection of the octagonal

octagonal building on the tower. It must, however, have been originally weak, from the great number and variety of intercolumniations. It is now much defaced, by being propped, cramped, screwed, and tied together in every part, and in various modes.

Before we finish our view of this part, it is worth while to look above the arch of communication with the tower. The different colours of the courses of the masonry (which, however, are a good deal affected by different states of weather), plainly shew the outline of a higher and wider arch, within which the present was built, of the same shape as the western arch already mentioned. One of the same form, and in the same situation (supporting a heavy tower), is to be seen in the curious old Norman church at Castle Rising, in Norfolk.

The Nave.

The long vista through these lofty arcades affords a fine proof of the sublime effect produced by simple grandeur of outline and amplitude of dimension, without the aid of partial ornament. The columns and arches are perfectly unadorned. All that can be called ornament, is a band of single billet moulding running, the whole length, between the first

and

and second tier of arches, and a still more simple one of a semicylindric form, between the second and third, and at the top of all. And though the transition be sudden and abrupt, from this noble simplicity to rich embellishment (in the octagon); yet the effect of this contrast is greatly diminished by the distance of the point of transition from the eye, and by the great extent of that which lies nearest to, and occupies it, so that the other is seen in distant perspective. Not only so, but the nave of this church is (if the expression is at all allowable) of a lighter kind of Norman. The completion of it is placed by Bentham in 1174, a late period of the Norman age. Certainly, the columns, with all their breadth, thickness, and mass, seem higher, and the arches loftier in proportion to their span, than those of some cathedral churches finished seventy or eighty years earlier. In the nave of the church of Norwich are two round columns, the circumference of which is twenty-one feet, and the height of the shaft barely thirteen. In the nave at Ely there are no single round columns, but there are two with semi-columns applied. The measure of the round part of these has been taken with as much care as possible, and they are about eighteen feet in

circumference, and fourteen and a half in the height of the shaft. The difference between the two must seem very great to the eye. As to the arches, they seem to be somewhat higher than semicircular; not forming a greater arc than a semicircle, but some little way rectilinear, before they take the circular bend. Another thing to be remarked, as perhaps contributing to the same effect, is, that each arch of the second tier comprehends two smaller ones, supported by a much lighter column. All these things considerably diminish the heavy and gloomy air which characterizes this style. It seems as if the roof might also contribute, in some degree, to this appearance of comparative lightness and greater loftiness. Yet few persons will therefore think it a beauty and an excellence. It is, in truth, a very great blemish. All is open and visible, from the pavement to the leads. It is said, indeed, to be admired by some persons, for its lightness and curious adjustment. It may be very ingenious and elaborate, and a fine thing of its kind. Of that let artificers judge. This will hardly be allowed to be a sufficient and appropriate commendation of it. When the eye has climbed to the dizzy height of those huge columns and arches, it feels a just and certain disappoint-

disappointment, at finding that they have nothing more seemingly ponderous to support than a set of rafters, which, viewed from so great a distance, appear scarcely stouter than those of a large parochial church, or even of a substantial dwelling-house. A plain vaulted stone roof, duly harmonizing with the present stone work, would be a noble improvement. It is, however, an improvement rather to be much desired, than at all reasonably expected. It would be a work of heavier expence than is likely to be encountered in these days.

It will be but a very short interruption of our progress, and not at all beside our purpose, to consider this point a little more particularly. Bishop Northwold, in the reign of Henry III. expended £. 5,350 on the additional building, which he erected at the east end of the church; besides what he did to the tower, and the building of a palace. According to Dr. Adam Smith, this sum would go farther in the thirteenth century, than £. 80,000 at the time he wrote; and, considering the increased value of labour and materials, in the thirty years since his book was published, a sum not much, if at all, short of £. 100,000 would be required to do the same now. In the following century,

in the reign of Edw. III. bishop Hotham expended £. 2,034 on the re-edification of the three arches east of the transept. This sum, by the same mode of reckoning, would be equivalent to considerably more than £. 30,000 at present. Besides which, he contributed largely to other contemporary works. At the very same time, the convent expended £. 2,406 (at least £. 40,000) on the octagon and lantern; besides building the Lady chapel, and many other expensive works. It is plain, that the revenues of bishops and of convents must have been very great, to be adequate to such princely expenditure. The patrimony of St. Etheldreda was very ample; and, even when it had been divided into an episcopal and a conventual share, there was a great abundance for both. To the latter, no doubt, considerable accessions were brought in, by the profits of the shrine. Of the opulence of our ancient bishops, a pretty good estimate may be made, from a lease which was granted to the convent in 1329, of the temporalities of the see during a vacancy. The rent was £. 2,000 by the year, or in proportion to the time it should continue. Taking Adam Smith's authority again, this would amount to £. 30,000 of modern money; and, as it was doubtless a very beneficial lease,

lease, being granted by the Crown as a great favour, the actual revenues must have been a great deal more. The two arbitrary princes, one of whom began, and the other completed, the reformation of our church, took very effectual care to lower the opulence of the bishops, by exchanges or other pretences, for which the prelates who consented to them, because they could not help it, have incurred much undeserved obloquy. As to the deans and chapters, they have what their tyrannical founder was pleased to bestow, out of the far greater possessions of the communities for which they were substituted. The difference between ancient and modern times is, therefore, prodigious. And, besides this, the different system of living in those days, would leave large sums unappropriated. The servants and retainers of an episcopal household, or of a conventual establishment, were prodigiously numerous indeed, but they received very little more than their liveries, and meat and drink; which were plentifully furnished from the produce of the demesne lands. And further, that fervid zeal which dictated the appropriation of large sums to holy purposes, even when it was attended by great inconvenience or privation, was strongly characteristic of former times, but not at all

of ours. Upon the whole, then, we are not to expect costly improvements at this time of day. The suggested improvement, which gave occasion to these remarks, is not indeed to be compared, in point of expence, with those which have been mentioned in the course of them. These latter must be considered as utterly impossible in our days, the other as only improbable; very improbable indeed, unless the work were done in a slight manner, merely to deceive the eye. These observations have led us a little way from our immediate object, but they do not positively amount to a digression. They are neither irrelative, nor superfluous. They may satisfy us, that it ought to be deemed sufficient in these days, if the funds destined to the support of cathedral and collegiate churches be fully and judiciously expended, in what is substantial and needful; if the injuries of time be carefully repaired as often as they appear; if the best precautions be taken against further decay; if nothing be allowed to remain in a mean, squalid, and neglected state; and that whatsoever is beyond this, deserves the praise of liberality.

After all, notwithstanding these weighty discouragements, and in defiance of sober probability, the zealous antiquary, viewing this

this noble nave, when he casts his eyes upwards, will exclaim, " Exoriare aliquis!" And, as his contemplations extend through many ages, and though generally retrospective, may sometimes be directed forward, while he despairs of receiving the benefit of his own wish, he may freely and disinterestedly add, " nostris ex ossibus." The view down the nave westward has been very greatly improved, by the clearing of the grand arch of the tower, and is terminated by the large window over the portico, which now exhibits another proof of the Bishop's munificent attention to the decoration of his church. In the course of the last summer, the stone work and the glazing were both entirely renewed, at his Lordship's sole and great expence; and he has enriched it with two very beautiful paintings on glass, one representing Pilate washing his hands, and the other Christ bearing the cross. They are some of those numerous spoils of foreign churches which have of late years been brought into this country, and dispersed in different parts of it. These, have certainly been transferred to a place fully worthy of them. To see them to the best advantage, it is of course, necessary to have the afternoon sun.

In passing along the nave, the eye must certainly be attracted by the font, which stands under the third arch on the south side. Baptism seems so peculiarly a parochial concern, that a cathedral church might do well enough without a font. However, if there be one, it should by all means be correspondent to the building. Those who applied dean Spencer's legacy for this purpose, in 1693, like many before, and many since, their time, seem to have been utterly unaware of the necessity or propriety of this consonance. This font has no connexion whatsoever with the Norman, or with any other style of architecture, in any part of the church. And a far better judge of architecture than the writer of this little book, would probably be very much puzzled to determine, with what order or style it has any connexion.

The Side Aisles of the Nave.

A range of semicircular small arches and pilasters runs along the whole length of both, under the windows; of which three on the south side (and that should be viewed first) are of the original form; the first (beginning west), the third, and the last but two.

two. All the rest, on both sides, are of later ages. The vaulting, which is of the original Norman work, should be observed, in order, by and by, to compare its perfect plainness, with the light elegance or varied richness, of the later vaulting of different ages, in the eastern part of the church.

The pavement of the aisles, even were it in good repair, would be mean, and entirely unworthy of the building, being of brick. But in the north aisle, it is not at all in a good state, very uneven and much broken.

An intermission of the range of small arches and columns, under a window of this aisle, marks the place where there was a communication with the parish church of St. Cross; closed up above two hundred years ago, when the Lady chapel was given, instead of that church, to the parish of the Holy Trinity.

At the west end of the same aisle, under an arch in the wall, is a most curious relique of very remote antiquity, well deserving attention. It is the lower part of a stone cross, with its square pedestal, found many years ago at Haddenham in the Isle of Ely; and after having been used there as a horse-block, removed hither about forty years ago, by the judicious

judicious care of the late Mr. Bentham, for safe preservation and the inspection of the curious. The inscription on the pedestal is very legible, in Roman capitals, except the E, which is Saxon:

Lucem tuam Ovino da Deus et requiem. Amen.

This Ovin, to whom it was erected, was steward to Queen Etheldreda, the foundress. It is, therefore, in all probability, a work of the seventh century. Mr. Bentham seems to doubt whether it was erected to his honour during his life, or to his memory after his death. It should seem that the word *requiem* is so appropriated to the dead, that it would not have been used had he been living at the time. The "Orate" on behalf of living benefactors was "pro vitâ et bono statu." But the point is not worth debating. At any rate, it cannot be brought lower, than a very early part of the eighth century. This will make it earlier by four hundred years than any thing else in the church. A very proper place has been chosen for it; and, as it has been thought fit to inclose it, it only remains to be wished, that for the heavy wooden fence which at present serves that purpose, an iron railing may be substituted.

The

The Transepts.

These are the most ancient part of the church, being of the original fabric, built in the reign of Henry I. A small part, indeed, of the north transept (which should be viewed first) fell down in the year 1699, but was so well rebuilt in the same form, that it is not easy to discover, on an internal view, which part of it suffered. It was the north-west corner.

Both the transepts have a middle and two side aisles. The columns and arches are, in general, like those of the nave. But it may be remarked, that in each of them there is one simple cylindrical shaft, no other specimen of which occurs in any other part of the church. The capitals of the columns are ornamented, except those on the west side of the north transept, which are quite plain. The roof in both is of bare rafters, painted with flowers, &c. Angels, with wings expanded, support the principals. In both, the same bands of moulding occur, above the several tiers of arches, as in the nave.

The west side aisle of the north transept is open; that on the east side is divided by walls behind each column. There are corbels, or perhaps fragments of piscinæ, in two of them.

them. At the north end, is a small colonnade, the arches of which are alternately higher and lower. The windows of the second tier on the west are of a later age, and so are the upper ones at the north end. The rest are all in their original form, or restored to it. On the east side, are the only three original windows of the second tier, now remaining.

Of the south transept, both the side aisles are entirely inclosed. The western one seems always to have been so; for, below the great arches, there is a range of intersecting Norman arches, about the height of those in the aisles of the nave. The great arches are now, and doubtless have been for many ages, built up with masonry, and so closely, that the columns are almost hidden. The space thus inclosed, is now used as a vestry for the dean and prebendaries, with a muniment room beyond it.

The east aisle is divided into three parts, which are now used as a library, a vestry for the minor canons, and another for the lay clerks and choristers. These have certainly been chapels. In each of the vestries on the south side, near the place where the altar stood, there is a piscina, or place for washing the holy vessels, and a niche for the image, on the north side; the usual situation of each.

In

In one of them, there is also on the north side, a low Norman arch, in the same place in which the *Sepulcrum Domini* is sometimes found, near the high altar. Whether this be one, might be known, perhaps, if we knew any thing of the dedication of this chapel. There was sometimes in great churches a chapel of the Holy Sacrament, in which the consecrated elements were kept. The examination of the point must rest with antiquaries of more skill and leisure. It is most likely there are similar remains in the library, but concealed by the book-cases.

These chapels are parted from the body of the transept by wooden screens, of workmanship inferior to the other ancient carving in wood, now existing in the church. They are much shattered and defaced, and appear to great disadvantage under those fine arches and columns, of which the capitals are decorated with volutes, leaves, heads, and animals.

At the end of this transept also is a colonnade, but different from that in the north. All the arches are of equal height, and that height not so great as in the other. The space between its top, and the bottom of the second tier, is filled by a row of ornamental intersecting arches.

Of

Of the windows of this transept, the upper ones are all of the original form, and so are those at the south end, except that at the top, which seems to be as late as the age of Henry VII. and has some confused remains of painted glass. Those of the middle tier on both sides, cannot be earlier than Henry VI. Those in the three chapels are clearly of the early English of the thirteenth century, probably towards the latter end of it.

A stranger will no doubt feel some disgust, at finding the whole of this transept, except a passage to the vestries and library, lumbered with benches, which are removed, against Sundays and holidays, into the space between the octagon and the choir, where sermons are preached. It is certainly much to be lamented, that this awkward inconvenience was not done away, as it very well might have been, when the choir was removed to the east end of the church.

The Octagon and Lantern.

We are now come to this noble work, in which elegance, magnificence, and strength are so happily blended, that it is impossible to determine in which respect it is most admirable. Here stood, originally, a square tower,

tower, which in the year 1322, from the unequal pressure of the four parts of the church, gave way and fell eastward. This was an accident which had before, and has since, happened in other churches. It could not have happened here at a more favourable conjuncture. The convent was rich, spirited, and liberal; and though another great work had been begun the preceding year (the erection of a new Mary chapel), the repair of this great dilapidation was immediately undertaken, and completed in a few years, by Alan de Walsingham, at that time sacrist; an officer under whose particular charge were all the monastic buildings. It has continued almost five hundred years, and may it yet continue, "alterum in lustrum," a noble proof of his consummate skill as an architect. The conception was altogether new and his own. He had no model to work after; and if he has had any imitators, their works have not stood the test of ages. By throwing the weight upon eight strong piers and arches, instead of four, he has probably guarded for ever against the recurrence of a similar accident. At the same time, he has given more ample space, a more agreeable form, and more scope for various embellishment; which is, however, most judiciously confined within such

such limits as not to interfere with sober and impressive grandeur. A very fine effect is also produced by the great quantity of light let down from above. And nobody can behold without admiring the skill, which has suspended, rather than supported, a very heavy timber roof over so wide an area, without a pillar. He had but a very short time to contemplate the full perfection and beauty of his own performance. Before the downfal of the tower, the choir was here; and here it was placed again, no doubt, as speedily as it could be finished. From that time to the year 1769, the octagon remained thus clogged and obstructed, precluding all possibility of a good interior view of the church. Besides, it certainly must have been the very worst place that could have been chosen, for singing, reading, or hearing.

It is not equilateral. There are four longer, and four shorter sides, alternate, and respectively equal. The longer are to the shorter as ten to six. In fact, it is a square with its corners cut off.

Four lofty arches, in the four longer sides, open into the four principal parts of the church. Alternately with these, in the four shorter sides, are as many more, much lower, (with windows above them) opening obliquely into

into the aisles, above and below the transept. The arches are all supported by those elegant clustered and conjoined columns, which were then come into use. Their capitals are wreaths of flowers and foliage.

Above the key-stone of each of the high arches, there is, or rather was, a whole-length sitting figure, probably of some saint. Even in their seemingly inaccessible situation, they were not secure from the merciless chisel and mallet of the intrepid puritan. With very great pains, doubtless, and no little danger, they have all been hacked and defaced.

The other four sides are more ornamented; but still the ornaments are chaste, and not profuse. The four low arches in them are under canopies resting on good carved heads, which have been suffered to remain perfect. Those on the north-east are said to be intended for Edw. III. and his Queen Philippa, in whose time the building was erected. It is likely enough that they were so. Heads, closely resembling them, are to be seen in other churches of that age. On the south-east arch, are the heads of a bishop and a priest; perhaps meant for bishop Hotham and prior Crauden. Opposite to this, on the north-west arch, are the heads of another

priest, apparently younger, and of some secular person in long hair. Who would not be glad to be convinced, that the former was a resemblance of the admirable architect himself?—One would not be so curious about the remaining one, nor altogether unwilling to suppose it the head of the master-mason. On the remaining arch at the south-west, are two figures which seem to have no relation whatsoever to the rest. One of them is of a beast, and the other a grotesque human figure in a cowl.

A little above these lower arches, are three brackets with canopies. The figures are gone of course, but some ornamental heads remain unhurt. Immediately above these canopies is a sort of embattled ornament, and then a window of four lights, and various tracery above. It is extremely sharp-pointed, the sides of the arch almost rectilinear, in the taste of Edward the Third's reign. Towards the top, each window is faced internally, with a trellis or lattice-work in stone tracery, which adds to the elegance of the window, without intercepting the light. These windows rise exactly to the same height with the higher arches.

Between each two arches, high and low, is

is a small cluster of very slender columns. On each of these, rather higher than the spring of the lower arches, is represented, in relief, some passage of the life of St. Etheldreda. Beginning at the right side of the north-west arch.

The first represents her reluctant marriage with Egfrid, king of Northumberland.

The second, her taking the veil in the monastery of Coldingham.

The third, her pilgrim's staff taking root while she slept by the way, and bearing leaves and shoots.

The fourth, her preservation, with her attendant virgins, on a rock surrounded by a miraculous inundation, when the king pursued her with his knights to carry her off from her monastery.

The fifth, her instalment as abbess of Ely.

The sixth, her death and burial.

The seventh, a legendary tale of one Brithstan, delivered from bonds by her merits after she was canonized.

The eighth, the translation of her body.

Immediately above these reliefs, on a sort of abacus, stand some niches with canopies, crockets, and finials, but no statues. Then the columns rise to the same height with

those of the higher arches, and have the same sort of wreathed capital; from which spring the ribs of the vaulted dome. In the centre of this is an aperture thirty feet wide, at the circumference of which the ribs of the vaulting terminate; upon this is placed the lantern, an exact octagon, having on each of its sides a large sharp-pointed window. Just below the windows is a gallery, and below that, carved pannels. The whole is of wood.

The Ante-Choir, or Sermon-Place.

By the fall of the transept-tower in 1322, the three arches to the east of it were beaten down, and were rebuilt at the expence of bishop Hotham, at the same time that the octagon and St. Mary's chapel were building. That the same great architect superintended the execution of all the three, is in the highest degree probable, though it is not recorded. Or, if it may be supposed, that he found sufficient occupation in the actual personal superintendance of one, it is scarcely to be doubted, that his advice was taken, and his plans followed, in the others.

These twenty-eight years, from 1321, in which St. Mary's chapel was begun, to 1349, in

in which it was finished, are the grand æra of improvement at Ely. The completion of three such works in one age, cannot but give a magnificent idea of the opulence and liberality of those who erected them.

This part of the church is very highly embellished. The lower columns are much of the same form with those in the octagon. The capitals are the same. But the arches are adorned with roses and other devices, and the spandrils of them with a particular sort of trefoil. (See Pl. 5.) The arches of the second tier, and the windows above them, are, as Mr. Bentham well observes, embellished with tracery work of such elegance and delicacy, as seems scarcely consistent with strength. These windows have the lattice-work before remarked in the octagon.

In the spandrils of the firſt lower arch on the south side, are the arms of the see (gules, three ducal coronets or); and those of bishop Hotham (barry of ten azure and argent, on a canton or a martlet sable).

Between each two of the lower arches, there is a projection, of the shape of a semi-cone inverted, exuberantly adorned with foliage in high relief. From this rises a column between the upper arches and win-

dows, and from the top of it spring the ribs of the vaulting, which spread in lavish ramifications over it, dividing it into angular compartments, and at the angles are flowers and other ornaments, curiously carved, and originally coloured and gilded.

The mean pulpit, which, till very lately, blemished this part of the Cathedral, has been removed to its proper place, a village church. The persevering munificence of the present bishop has substituted for it, one of carved English oak, of an octagonal form, on Norman columns and arches, with their characteristic mouldings, beautifully and correctly executed under the direction of Mr. Groves, an architect of considerable repute.

The Choir.

The old choir extended eastward as far as the second arch of bishop Hotham's work, and westward to the second column of the nave, where it was bounded by a stone screen, and where niches in the opposite columns still mark the place. A most incommodious situation for a choir! The removal of it was a great improvement. This took place in 1770. It may justly be wondered, that so desirable an

an alteration was not made before. For its being originally placed there, we may indeed easily account. The space east of the transept, was in this as in all Norman churches, very short. There would not have been room for a large community, without borrowing the lower part of the transept tower, and some of the eastern part of the nave. But why was it not removed when bishop Northwold added the six arches eastward? This also may be probably accounted for. The reliques and shrines of St. Etheldreda, St. Withburga, St. Sexburga, and St. Ermenilda, being all in the original choir, and attracting doubtless a great number of devotees, must have been productive of no little inconvenience to the monks, and it must have been considered as a great improvement, to appropriate to them that ample space, for the unmolested reception of their votaries. The brethren could have felt no inclination to follow them. But when sainted virgins no longer attracted crowds, when their holy remains were (it is to be hoped) committed to their mother earth, their altars overthrown, and their costly shrines torn piecemeal, and conveyed none knows whither, it may more justly be wondered, that such an inconvenience and ble-

mish was not sooner done away. Indeed it is said, that bishop Gunning had an intention of removing it about a century earlier; but it does not appear that any prior intention of the sort existed, or why that was not carried into execution.

At the two columns which terminate bishop Hotham's work, began the semicircular east end of the original church, extending a very little way further. It was taken down in the year 1235, by the eighth bishop, Hugh de Northwold, and this beautiful addition of six arches was made and finished at his expence, in seventeen years. It was called the Presbytery, a common name for the chancel or east end of a church, though now out of general use. In this instance, however, it has been retained to our days. At the dedication of it, and the removal of the reliques and shrines of the holy virgins into it in 1252, Henry III. and his court were present, and magnificently entertained by the bishop.

It is separated from bishop Hotham's work by two strong piers, in the construction of which there is something remarkable; this may be better viewed in the side aisles. The two styles, which have been denominated the early, and ornamented English, being thus

thus brought together in absolute contact, an opportunity is afforded of judging of the comparative merits of each. Mr. Bentham describes the latter as highly embellished, the other as richly ornamented indeed, but still majestically plain and simple. Richly ornamented no doubt it is, and majestical; but it seems not happily, if consistently, characterized by the epithets plain and simple. In positive quantity of ornament, there seems to be a great resemblance. Many of the same respective parts in each are ornamented, yet there is a striking difference in the general result. In the ante-choir, the ornaments, in some places, seem exuberant and redundant; and in others, strong and weak; heavy and light parts seem at variance with each other. In the choir, all is consistent. The ornaments are various indeed, and copious, but all uniformly elegant and graceful. Every thing seems in its proper place, and fitly proportioned; all harmonize, and, taken all together, give a general character of lightness and elegance. This is no where more conspicuous than in the roof; the plain ribs of which, diverging from their imposts, instead of crossing each other and spreading into intricate forms, go straight to a longitudinal mid-line, running

running from west to east, and decorated with coloured figures or flowers, where the springers meet it. There is a precise line of separation between this and the more elaborate ceiling of bishop Hotham's work. Being thus brought into contact, the two may be compared with singular ease and advantage.

That strength was effectually consulted, has been proved by the event. This building has stood but little short of six hundred years, and it does not appear that any more important repairs have been found necessary, than those which may be remembered by some persons now living. The timber roof was repaired, and the east end, which was near two feet out of the perpendicular, was skilfully and effectually restored by force of screws, under the direction of Mr. Essex the architect, about forty years ago.

Every part of the fabric bears undeniable marks of originality, except the two windows of the second tier, on each side, nearest the organ. Behind these, the roof of the side aisles rises no higher than the first tier of arches, whereas in the other four it covers the second. When this alteration took place, or what gave occasion to it, does not appear; but it was certainly not of the original design.

The

The roof was of equal height throughout. These windows have been fitted up with tracery exactly resembling that of the correspondent arches in the ante-choir. The frames do not appear to have been altered.

The arches of the second tier are separated, by a cluster of slender shafts, into two smaller with trefoil heads; and between the two a quatrefoil; all highly adorned with curious and beautiful mouldings.

The upper windows are of three lancet-shaped lights under one arch of the same span with those below, and adorned in the same taste.

The east end is eminently beautiful, and will not, by any means, shrink from comparison with the more gorgeous termination of any church, built after great end windows came into fashion. There are two tiers of lights; the lower consists of three, very high lancet-shaped and all equal; the second of five, the middle one being higher, and those on the sides gradually lower. These, intermixed with numerous slender pilasters, and set off by a profusion of leafy mouldings, of great beauty and variety, may be fairly allowed to exhibit as much magnificence, and more

more gracefulness and elegance, than the splendid glare of one huge window filling almost the whole end.

These windows have certainly been adorned with painted glass, but that was of course demolished in the general wreck. Bishop Mawson had agreed with an artist to fill them with modern stained glass. The middle light of the five, was to have contained a whole-length figure of St. Etheldreda, and below it the royal arms; the next light on the right-hand side, a whole-length of St. Peter, and below it the arms of the bishop, impaled with those of the see; that on the left hand, a whole-length of St. Paul, and below it the arms of the then dean, Dr. Thomas; and the two side lights the arms of the prebendaries, four and four, according to their precedency in the choir. The middle light below, was to have contained a picture of The Nativity, with angels descending in a stream of light; the two side lights, figures of the Four Evangelists. Each compartment was to have had appropriate decorations.

This agreement was made not long before bishop Mawson's death. He had advanced a considerable sum of money, and sufficiently provided, by his will, for the rest. The artist

artist was unable to fulfil his contract. The figure of St. Peter, and some of the arms, were finished, and are put up. The heads only of St. Paul and St. Etheldreda were completed, which are in two windows in a room at the deanery. The arms, as they now appear, are, those of bishop Mawson above, and below them those of the prebendaries at that time, in the following order:

2. Nicols	1. Heaton
4. Gooch	3. Greene
6. Doyly	5. Hervey
8. Price	7. Warren.

The painting under the window, representing the release of St. Peter from prison by an angel, was given by the present bishop in 1801, and put up, with its appurtenances, at his expence. It is the work of Joseppé de Ribeira, who was called the Spanish Titian, and flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The stalls are those which were erected by Alan de Walsingham, when the choir was fitted up after the erection of the octagon. When they were to be removed hither, some of them were of course found to be decayed; and have been so well restored, that it is impossible to discover what parts of them are

are new. It is to be wished, that the old work had been as well studied and as successfully imitated, by those who put up the altar-screen. A cursory view may not indeed discover any defects; but an eye accustomed to the examination of ancient workmanship, will easily detect some forms which could not have existed in a real work of the age intended to be imitated. Some of the arched facings applied to the pannels, are positively semicircular. The artificer had a certain breadth to fill, with an arch springing from a certain point. A semicircle exactly did it, and he seems to have sought no further. He might easily have found, in this very part of the church, in the windows, on the monuments, and on the stalls, really ancient forms, which would have filled the space as well. It may be asked too, why was the screen curved, as the end of the church is square? Norman east ends were curved, but none after that age. And further, why was there any screen at all? Probably the stone-work of the east end is ornamented below the windows. The faces of the two chapels, on each side of the altar, though cruelly defaced as far as they are visible, and doubtless throughout, might have

have been restored at no very great expence (perhaps not greater than was bestowed on this screen) sufficiently to have made it a far nobler termination than it now is.

It is observable that there is no bishop's throne here, as there is in other cathedral churches. It is to be accounted for thus—In every cathedral, there was either a prior and monks, or a dean and secular canons; for the most part founded by the first bishop, but the bishop had no place among either community. His seat in the choir was elevated, and sometimes magnificently adorned; situated near the high altar, or between it and the east end of the stalls. Ely is the only instance of the conversion of an abbey into a see. When this change took place, the bishop came into the abbot's place in the choir on the right-hand side of the entrance; leaving the prior, then become head of the monastery, in possession of the seat on the left hand, which he had before occupied, when he was only second, and which is filled by his successor, the dean.

The presbytery was formerly occupied by the sepulchral memorials of bishops, priors, deans, and other eminent persons. All these have been removed, except two; that of

bishop

bishop Gray, which is a flat stone (a part only of a noble monument) under the arch by which we pass into the north aisle; and that of Cardinal de Luxemburgh, archbishop of Rouen and perpetual administrator of the diocese of Ely, which is on the south side of the altar, concealed by the screen. It is said to have been found impossible to remove it, without danger of it's falling to pieces, being made of a sort of clunch. It had been already miserably mauled by the puritans. Whoever has curiosity to know where the other monuments originally stood, and still remained in the early part of the last century, may consult Willis's History. He gives an ichnography, with figures of reference to a list. To the present situations of them, the reader is directed by the annexed reference to the plan:

1. Dean Cæsar
2. Dean Moss
3. Bishop Redman
4. Bishop Kilkenny
5. Prior Crauden
6. Bishop Hotham
7. Bishop Patrick
8. Remains of Bishop Gray
9. Bishop Fleetwood
10. Bishop

10. Bishop Mawson
11. Cardinal de Luxemburgh
12. Bishop Keene
13. Bishop Greene
14. Dr. Ch. Fleetwood
15. Bishop Laney
16. John Lord Tiptoft
17. Bishop Gunning
18. Remains of Bishop Barnet's and Bishop Northwold's
19. Bishop Butts
20. Bishop Moore
21. Bishop de Luda
22. Bishop Heton
23. Bishop Goodrich
24. Dean Tyndall
25. Robert Steward, Esq.
26. Sir Mark Steward
27. Bishop Cox.

Monuments removed into the north aisle, are those of bishops Fleetwood, Patrick, and Hotham; of dean Cæsar; and the grave-stones of prior Crauden and dean Moss. The tomb of bishop Kilkenny, and the monument of bishop Redman, are in their original places.

Monuments removed into the south aisle,

are those of bishops Northwold, Greene, Butts, Moore, and that of Dr. Ch. Fleetwood; and the grave-stones of bishops Cox, Goodrich, and dean Tyndall. The tomb of bishop Barnet; and the monuments of bishops de Luda, Heton, Laney, and Gunning; of Tiptoft earl of Worcester, sir Mark Steward, and Robert Steward, esq. have not been moved.

Since this general removal, a mural monument has been put up to bishop Mawson, in the north aisle, and a flat stone laid over bishop Keene, in West's chapel.

Besides the memorials of bishops above enumerated, there are three more in the church. Bishops Alcock and West repose each in his own chapel; and towards the east end of the nave, there is a large marble with the effigies of a bishop upon it, but it is not even conjectured whom it covers or has covered.

What now remain are probably but a small portion of what once existed. Most profane havoc has been made among them. We are apt to refer all mischief of this sort to the æra of the great rebellion in the seventeenth century; but the truth is, that a great deal was done long before that time. Weever complains

plains bitterly of it. The dæmon of destruction was let loose very early in the days of the reformation, under pretence of obliterating the traces of superstition. That might have been done, without such excessive devastation. If an image was an object of adoration, it might have been quietly removed, without injury to any adjoining part. If it were simply an ornament, why remove it at all? At any rate, pinnacles and crockets, coats of arms and flourishes in brass, seem to have been very inoffensive things. If "Orate pro anima" were superstitious in fact (as no doubt it was), still it was both pious and affectionate in principle. It was the last fine tie between departed and surviving neighbours, friends, and brethren. However, if it could not be pardoned on that consideration, it might have been erased without destroying the whole record. But a brass plate was worth something, and a stone might be of more use somewhere else, or might possibly be large and thick enough to be divided. So that paltry avarice masqued itself under the guise of zeal. The depredators were numerous and active. They had great example and authority; that of the visitors at the time of the dissolution, and, a few years

afterwards, the more venerable sanction of bishops.

Here, bishop Goodrich, a zealous reformer, issued his injunction, in 1541, that "all "Images and Bones of suche as the Kyng's "people resorted and offered unto, Item, the "Ornaments, Writings, Table-monuments of "Myracles or Pylgrymage, Shryne, Coverying "of Shryne appertaining to the saide Images "and Bones, should be so done away and "abolished, that no memory of them might "in future remain."

Here was license and warrant for abundance of mischief; but it opened a door to much more still than was literally expressed. Not a word is said of the disposal of these spoils; they are only ordered to be done away. No doubt those who owed canonical obedience on this occasion, most conscientiously performed it, and took effectual care that the offensive objects should be seen no more. It is only to be hoped, that bishop Goodrich's injunctions did not cause any of the mischief which has been done to the chapel of his immediate predecessor, bishop West.

Among the many monumental records that have been some how or other done away, who will not lament that that of prior Walsingham

singham is included; for that great man died prior of his monastery, and had even been elected bishop, but the choice of the convent was set aside by a papal provision. The stone which once covered him may indeed still be in the church (for there are several unappropriated); nobody however knows which it is, or where it ought to lie. Could it be ascertained, it should be placed in the centre of the octagon.

Of fifty-two bishops of Ely, thirty-five are known to have been buried in the Cathedral, and two in the Lady chapel. Of these thirty-seven, there are memorials of twenty. Some of them very scanty and much mutilated, and many removed from the spots where the bodies of those whom they commemorate repose. Of the other seventeen, there were, no doubt, similar memorials; but they "are perished as though they had never been."—

Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris!

The Side Aisles, with the Chapels.

In passing from the choir into a side aisle under an arch, the stranger will not fail to remark the fine slender columns, surrounded by slenderer detached shafts, which are characteristic

racteristic of the early English. But he will certainly not perceive that they are of Purbec marble, in as much as they are covered with a coat of paint! It is really wonderful, that such a monstrous depravity of taste should have existed in our days. This abomination must have been committed when the choir was removed. These columns are in sight from most parts of it, and, that all might be spruce and trim, and fit to be seen, are nicely painted of the same colour with the organ gallery.

The present passage into the north aisle (which should be viewed first) was occupied by the monument of bishop Gray. Mr. Bentham gives a print of what remained of it when he wrote, and, if that be correct, there does not seem any sufficient reason why it was not suffered to remain. It would have been no obstruction. It is however gone, and to enquire whither would be in vain.

The window opposite was rebuilt by him, and bears his arms (gules, a lion rampant argent, in a bordure engrailed of the second) on one of the panes, and in the stone-work on the west side. He also rebuilt the two next windows, on the sides of which also are his arms. The date of this work was about 1460. Two more windows were put in here in

1373,

The ARCH of COMMUNICATION between the CHURCH & LADY CHAPEL.

PL. VI.

Drawn by G. Shepherd.

Engraved by W. Woolnoth.

To the Reverend the Dean and Chapter of Ely,

This Plate, engraven at their expence, is gratefully inscribed by their much obliged & obedient Servant, George Millers.

1373, and several on the south side. All the rest, on both sides, though not particularly recorded, have obviously been inserted long after the erection of the building, and most likely between these two dates. The exact uniformity of them all deserves notice, as an instance of judgment in those who made the later ones, not often to be met with in similar cases.

At the lower end of the aisle, behind the monument of dean Cæsar, is a fine ornamented arch, through which there was a communication with the Lady chapel. (See Plate VI.) It had statues on each side in large niches, a sitting figure above the key-stone, many smaller niches, crockets and pinnacles, all defaced. It is a pity no other place could have been thought of for this monument, when it was removed out of the present choir. In the inclosed passage from this arch to the chapel, was an inlaid or tessellated pavement, which richly deserves to be restored, and which, it may be hoped, will one day be open to the inspection of the curious.

The columns, being here happily out of public view, have escaped the indignity of paint and wash, and may be contemplated in their simple and original beauty. There is a range of small ones, of the same sort, against the north wall. The truth of Mr.

Bentham's observation, on the splitting of the surrounding shafts, from their being cut in one piece, horizontally from the quarry, is confirmed in many instances.

The piers which separate bishop Northwold's from bishop Hotham's work, and which are referred to at page 72, are deserving of attention. They are a combination of the two sorts of column severally in use at the respective times at which the two fabrics were erected. The east side has the small shafts distinct from the main column, and the west side is clustered. Where they meet, is a niche for a statue.

The exact line of separation between the two sorts of vaulting is also to be observed here.

The monuments most deserving of attention, are those of bishops Kilkenny, Hotham, and Redman. The first was the immediate successor of Northwold: his tomb is of the early English. His heart only is interred under it; his body being buried in Spain, where he died on an embassy. Bishop Hotham's monument, originally placed behind the high altar in the old choir, was a magnificent work of the ornamented English, though the remains of it, at present existing, can give no great ideas of what it once may have

have been. That of bishop Redman, who died in 1506, is of the florid English, decorated with a variety of niches, pinnacles, tracery, &c. and the emblems of the passion in escutcheons. On the pavement is a marble unusually long and wide, once inscribed to the memory of prior Crauden, whose body it no longer covers, for that is known to have been deposited in the presbytery.

At the east end of this aisle, is the chapel of bishop Alcock, in which he lies interred. This prelate must have been reputed a good architect in his day, for he was comptroller of the works under Henry VII. He has not however been altogether happy in the specimen he has here given of his skill; or rather, he has been far outdone by bishop West, who had no such character to maintain. This is a rich and pompous, rather than an elegant production of the florid style. It consists of a mass of pinnacles crowded close together, and rising one above another, with niches sparingly interspersed. It is curiously executed indeed, but heavy and confused. The statues are all gone, except four or five without heads, over the door, and certainly not in their original places. There is also a perfect figure of Henry VII. which the late Mr. Bentham is said to have found in this chapel. It

is

is now kept at the deanery. The recumbent figure of the prelate, under its canopy on the north side, has been so outrageously hewn in pieces, that it can only be conjectured to have been once intended to represent a human form.

The vaulted ceiling is rich and elaborate. It is formed by ribs springing from the four corners, and spreading themselves into various compartments and rich tracery. In the centre is a large pendant ornament of curious workmanship.

In the east wall, under the window, is fixed a square stone, found a few years ago underground a little eastward of the end of the chapel, bearing the following inscription, not very easily legible:

Johannes Alkoc Epūs. Eliensis hanc fabricam fieri fecit.
A. D. M.CCCCLXXXVIII.

His favourite device, a rebus of his name, a cock standing on a globe, is to be seen in the window of the chapel, and in two or three other places.

A great part of what was observed in the north, being also applicable to the south aisle, it only remains to note what is peculiar to it. The monuments of bishops most to be noted, are those of Northwold, Barnet, and

and de Luda. Bishop Barnet's is a plain tomb, and on it have been laid the poor remains of the sumptuous one of the splendid Hugh de Northwold, which stood in the properest place possible, about the centre of his building. That it was highly adorned with carving, may still be seen. At the feet of it, is a representation of the martyrdom of Saint Edmund by the Danes, in token of his having been lord abbot of Bury before he was preferred to the see of Ely. Over the remains of bishop de Luda stands a beautiful light arch. Whether it is to be called a late specimen of the early English, or an early one of the ornamented style, may be debated, if it be thought worth while. However that be determined, it is not easy to see why it was dawbed with paint so as to make it look like wood. The monument of the earl of Worcester, with his two wives, is of the late English, and a good deal in the style of bishop Redman's in the north aisle, but not so highly ornamented. The two monuments of two of the Steward family, and that of bishop Heton, are very common samples of the no-style, which succeeded the florid English, and lasted for many years; and the same might have been said of dean Cæsar's,

on

on the other side of the church. Those of the later bishops, if not all Grecian, are something that was meant for it.

At the east end of this aisle, is the beautiful chapel of bishop West; a consummate specimen of that gorgeously ornamented style, the florid English. The great superiority of this to the correspondent chapel on the north side, in the taste of it's ornaments, in the merit of execution, and delicacy of finishing, is evident at the very first view of it's front. It had another, towards the place where the altar now is. Here is very little of pinnacle-work; but the niches are far more numerous, and the canopies and corbels are of endless variety, in workmanship, size, shape, and decoration. There are places for considerably more than two hundred statues, great and small. Yet no part seems heavy and overloaded, though the dimensions (internally) are no more than twenty-three feet in length and fifteen in breadth. Every part of this beautiful oratory, within and without, has suffered the most barbarous and outrageous violation. Happily, proofs of it's original perfection, even in the minutest parts, are still to be observed. Some of the figures, on the outside next the altar, have escaped with the

the loss of their heads only. The lining of the canopies is of such exquisitely fine tracery, that it looks like lace. And there are, here and there, some small heads in relief, of a medal size, executed with all the softness and nicety of wax; and which, probably, like some other innocent heads, owed their preservation from the Oliverian tomahawk, to their minute size or inconspicuous situation.

Over the door in the inside is this inscription in delicate tracery, "Gracia Dei sum id quod sum Anno Dni. 1534." And the same, without the date and the word "id," is to be seen in various places.

The place of the altar, under the east window, is distinctly shewn by the wall and by the pavement.

On the south side, in seven small arches, closed with as many stones, inscribed with names and dates, are immured the remains of seven eminent persons of the tenth and eleventh centuries, who were originally interred in the conventual church; they were removed, in the reign of king Stephen, by bishop Nigel into the present church before it was quite finished; afterwards inclosed in the north wall of the choir, found there, and transferred hither when the choir was removed.

They

They are, Wolstan archbishop of York, Osmund a Swedish bishop, Ednoth bishop of Lincoln; Alfwin, Elfgar, and Athelstan, bishops of Elmham; and Brithnoth duke of Northumberland. Every pious and benevolent spectator will surely and sincerely join in the full meaning of the emphatic word inscribed over them—*Requiescant*. Here may they rest without further migration, "each in his narrow cell," till the "other house" is open to receive them.

Quantula sunt hominum corpuscula!

The roof of this chapel springs from six imposts; one at each corner, and one in the centre of each side. The whole is divided into lozenge-shaped compartments, of different sizes and proportions, all coloured, and on many of them the arms of the see, and those of the founder of the chapel, which were argent, a chevron sable, between three roses gules, seeded and leaved proper. There are two pendents, each formed of the figures of three angels, holding the same arms, and those of Henry VIII.

Trinity Church.

To every conventual church was annexed a splendid chapel, dedicated to St. Mary. It's

It's most usual place was at the east end, sometimes on one side. The old Lady chapel at Ely was on the south side. The arch of communication with it, was where the monument of bishop Laney now is, and it is still to be seen on the outside. In 1321 a new chapel was begun on the north side, and finished in 1349. After the Reformation, being of no further use, instead of being let down, as the Mary chapel has been in most cases, it was given to the parish of the Holy Trinity, and has since been called Trinity church.

The communication with it is through the north-east corner of the north transept. It is a beautiful and finely proportioned building. In that single particular (for it would be absurd to extend the comparison further), it is superior to the justly celebrated chapel of King's College, Cambridge, to which it is said to have had the honour of serving as a model. It displays a rich profusion of every sort of ornament; long since covered with an execrable crust of white-wash, but once beautified with colouring and gilding, of which some very faint traces were lately visible, where the wash was scaled off from sharp edges. These poor dim shadows of faded splendor

splendor were to be looked for a little east of the place where the pulpit lately stood, on the north side. They are now hidden again, perhaps to be detected no more by prying antiquaries, or at least not till after many years. This beautiful church has been lately fitted up in a proper manner. No choice could be left but to renew the wash. The defilement, once contracted, must be necessarily indelible.

The vaulting is exactly in the style of the contemporary work of bishop Hotham. Upon taking a near view of it, after it's recent cleansing, I find that the ornaments, at the intersections along the mid rib, represent the nativity, the crucifixion, and various parts of the history of the Virgin Mary; the figures have been painted of many colours, and gilded; scrolls are annexed to some of them, on which are inscribed fragments of the hymn *Magnificat*, and the prayer *Ave Maria*. The lesser ornaments of the other intersections, consist of flowers, grotesque masques, &c. The springers rise from imposts between the windows, which are yet perfect, and correspondent in form to others of the same age. The two end windows, especially the eastern one, are noble, spacious, and finely varied.

Along

Along the side walls, are nineteen ornamented triangular arches, each divided by a slender pilaster into two stalls with stone benches, the separations between each pair of stalls being faced with Purbec marble. At the east end were eight of the same sort, and a central one higher and wider than the rest. But this, and one on each side of it, are covered most preposterously by four Corinthian columns and a pediment. At the west end are eight similar arches, but without the division before mentioned.

The seats under the arches were, no doubt, sufficient to accommodate the congregation which attended the rites anciently performed here. These chiefly consisted of masses and other services, celebrated to the strangers entertained in the convent, who were sometimes very numerous. It was very reasonably to be expected that they should attend religious offices during their stay. Indeed it is likely that most of them would be eager to derive as much spiritual benefit as possible from their sojourning within these hallowed walls, and that they would of course be indefatigable in their devotions. It was impossible that they should be admitted into the choir among the brethren, and

therefore another place was appropriated to their use.

The area was then clear. It is thus ideally represented, in the print of it in the history of Ely. How beautiful and charming it must have been when in that state, there was lately an opportunity of judging, while the mean and unsightly pews and benches which long disgraced it, were all removed. They have been replaced by new and handsome ones on a regular plan, and at a very considerable expence, supported by a spirited subscription among the parishioners, by a small parochial rate, and by liberal benefactions from the bishop and from the dean and chapter.

When the flooring of the old pews was removed, I was in hopes of discovering grave-stones of the bishops Montacute and Fordham, who are known to have been buried here. Several flat stones were found, but so perfectly plain that it is impossible to appropriate them. Many other pieces of stone were discovered, several of which must certainly have belonged to the sumptuous monument of bishop Hotham. It may not be easy to account for their being deposited here, otherwise than by conjecturing that, soon after the havoc made among the tombs

and

and other ornaments of the church, while the fragments lay scattered, these were carried away, and used as props under pews which stood in need of repair.

The Upper Parts of the Church.

If any stranger be disposed to explore these, his best opportunity of ascending is after his return from Trinity church. The ascent is certainly troublesome and fatiguing, but no where dangerous, if due caution be observed. The view from the top is very extensive, and not altogether destitute of pleasing objects. But those which are near, may be seen with less trouble, and those which are distant are indistinct. Upon the whole, it is a panorama of the fens. There are two things more particularly worth viewing. One is the stupendous timber roof of the octagon, a prodigious number of huge beams (many of them entire oaks) placed in such nice dependence as to take the vast weight from one another, and lay it all upon the stone-work. This roof had got so much out of repair as to be considered in a dangerous state, but was effectually restored by that eminent architect James Essex, in the year 1762. The other particular worth notice, is at a great distance

from this, and the way to it is along the roof of the nave on the south side, just behind the upper parapet; it is the curious, various, and elaborate work of the inside of the tower.

General External View.

Having surveyed every thing within the church, a stranger will do well to view it externally, before he looks at the other buildings. Let him go out at the door of the north transept, and first turn westward.

It will be observed here, and indeed in every part, that this fabric was built of a much harder stone than was commonly used in the Norman age. The soft white stone from Caen, of which the Norman artificers were so fond, because it worked very easily, and they had been used to it in their own country, was extremely apt to be split and scaled off by the weather. There are abundant proofs of this in many churches. The stone used here came from quarries at Barnack, near Stamford. It's firmness and durability may be inferred from it's general sound appearance. The appearance, however, alone might deceive, for plain walls may have been faced at various times. A better proof is the perfect state of so great a number of windows,

which

which have been already remarked in their several places, and need not be again pointed out. They shew themselves indeed plainly enough; and the number, upon the whole, is unusually great. A still further proof exists in the ornamental parts. On the whole nave and transepts, a band of treble billet moulding runs under the lower windows; under the second, a double hatched moulding; and immediately below the upper parapets is the ornament called the corbel-table. All these, with the billet mouldings round the uppermost windows, are in very high preservation, and even retain a great deal of the sharpness of the first finish. Formerly, battlements ran the whole length of the nave on each side; those on the north were removed within the last thirty years.

It will be no great trouble to go to the west end of the church-yard, to inspect the ruins of the north-west transept. The internal decorations of this part, so far as they remain, seem to have exactly corresponded with that which is now standing. It appears from this circumstance, that this transept was used for some purpose of importance, though what that was, it is impossible to conjecture. The same thing may be concluded from a new

building having been begun on the same spot, after the fall of this. Had that been merely intended to restore uniformity, it would have been of the same dimensions with the other, which is not the case. We may therefore reasonably suppose that it was intended for some use to which it had before been put, though what that might be is not known; any more than the reason why it was discontinued when it had been raised twelve or fourteen feet from the ground. The arch of communication with the tower is filled up with masonry. There is in this, as in the other, a grand semicircular arch on the east side, most probably communicating with a chapel; of which, however, there are neither remains nor record. It has been supposed by some to have opened into the parochial church of St. Cross, which stood on the north side of the Cathedral. But that could not be; for the church of that name, which was taken down early in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the present Trinity church had been given to the parish, was built only in 1362; and there is no account of an earlier one in the same place. But supposing there were, had this arch opened into it, it must have adjoined the Cathedral, which it certainly

tainly never did; because the Norman ornaments on the outside plainly prove that this side was intended to be seen, and was not hidden by another building. Besides, in a rude plate of the Cathedral (in the 1st volume of the Monasticon), which is not dated, but must have been executed soon after the death of bishop Goodrich, in 1554, two ruined walls are represented adjoining the north side of the Cathedral, which must have been the side walls of an inclosed passage to the parish church; which, therefore, was at some distance, and, at that time, had either been cleared away, or more likely lay in ruins, though they are not delineated in the plate.

The next thing which may attract notice, is the date 1662, about the middle of the north side. This was the time at which the rubbish of the old church of St. Cross, disused or taken down above a century before, was finally removed, and this wall repaired, and perhaps in some places cased. That nearly the whole side was then rebuilt, has been supposed by some. But the abundance of Norman characteristics forbid the supposition most positively. The lower range of windows also are far more ancient than 1662. There might be no great danger in risking

an opinion, that they were in existence before the erection of the church of St. Cross.

What has been said of the shape of the octagon (that it is a square with it's corners cut off), may be much more distinctly observed on the external view. The very sharp and rectilinear heads of the four windows of it are also better seen.

The part of the north transept which fell down and was rebuilt in 1699, may be exactly distinguished from the old work. About half the north end and half the west side is new. There is much merit in the accurate restoration of it. The windows are exactly of their former shape. Some stone mullions, indeed, have been inserted, which are palpably modern; but they may be excused. The mouldings are nicely replaced. Indeed, one would think that the scattered fragments had been found again, and each restored to it's own place. But amidst these proofs of taste and judgment, by some seeming fatality, there is one monstrous blemish—the Tuscan door arch!

The west front of Trinity church must attract notice, most richly decorated with niches and a noble window. Nor is the east end of it less beautiful. But it is to be lamented, that

that the upper part of most of the windows, being wrought in a soft, friable stone, is hastening fast to decay.

The exact uniformity of all the lower windows of the church, east of the transept, may be seen to advantage externally, and deserves attention, for reasons already given. The same uniformity may be remarked in those of the second tier also; but they are different from the lower; and whether they were all of the same, or of different ages, is not known. That the roof of the two western arches of bishop Northwold's work was originally as high as that of the other four, is clearly proved by the stone projections on which the timbers of it were lodged. The two unglazed windows on the south side seem to be original.

It is to be wished that there were more space eastward, to get a more satisfactory view of the truly noble east front of the church, which, externally, has a third tier of lancet-shaped windows above those already mentioned, and above the vaulted roof, which therefore conceals them from view in the inside. There are also several niches for statues as large as life, with various other rich ornaments.

In

In the third arch from the east, on the south side, observe the door arch which formerly opened into a passage leading from the old Lady chapel.

From certain arches of different ages, at the end of the south transept, it is plain that some building or buildings, long since dilapidated, had communication with that part of the church. But records are silent, and conjecture is idle.

Though the church of Ely is much less encumbered by neighbouring buildings than most others, it is sufficiently so to preclude all possibility of taking the whole of it into view from any one point. There are several good points of view at a moderate distance. The very best (and a very fine one it is) is from the hill at Stuntney, about a mile to the south, on the Newmarket road. A stranger, who comes by that road, should be aware of this. And some who do not, may have sufficient leisure to go so short a distance, and may be further requited for their trouble, by the opportunity of examining a very ancient church, which seems to have strong claims to be considered as a Saxon work.

The

The Remains of the Cloister and Chapter House.

The only part of the cloister now remaining entire, is the north-east angle, through which is the south entry into the church, by a magnificent Norman door arch of various and elaborate sculpture. This was the common door of entrance for the monks. The prior's entrance was at the north-west corner, and is more magnificent still. (See Plate VII.) It is in the Dean's garden, and so is all the rest of the cloister. The outer wall of the north side, and part of the east is yet standing, but the roof is fallen in. Of the west side, it can scarcely be said whether any part remains. The wall which now runs in that direction, does not seem to agree with the measurement of the other parts. Indeed, that side might have been broader than the others. It was the prior's way from his lodge to the church. On the south side, are some capitals of columns of the thirteenth century, like those of the galilee and the presbytery. This side, therefore, was older than the others, for they have windows of a much later age, in which it should seem that they were rebuilt.

A little south of the cloister, stood the chapter-

chapter-house; of this very little indeed now remains, but enough to shew that it was of the Norman age.

The Deanery and other Buildings.

The deanery, which stands a little south of the cloister, was the refectory of the convent. It was built late in the thirteenth century. This high antiquity may not be inferred from any obvious marks in it's present external appearance. There is no arch or column of that age visible, and the windows have all been changed, perhaps repeatedly in ancient or in modern times. On the south side, however, the original lancet shape of them is clearly to be traced. It is certain that the walls, the buttresses, and the crypt on which it is built, accord with the date assigned it.

At the west end of it, turning at right angles towards the south, and fronting east, is a long range of buildings, all built upon crypts, a very little lower than the level of the outward ground, which seem, by their different forms and dimensions, to have been erected in different ages, but are all very ancient. However this may be, a great part of the outside wall westward is proved to be of high antiquity, by it's flat Norman buttresses. These crypts, doubtless,

doubtless, served the purpose of cellars and store-rooms; but several of them are now converted into very neat parlours. This range of buildings reached as far as the great gate called Ely Porta, the principal entrance of the monastery. They are now somewhat short of it, and the interval is a garden belonging to the house of the schoolmaster. The gate was erected towards the end of the fourteenth century. On the outer front, it is decorated with niches, canopies, and other marks of that age. There are several shields on both fronts, but the bearings are almost all obliterated, none being now distinguishable but those of the see of Ely, and those of Edward the Confessor, azure a cross patonce, between five martlets, or. I learn from a gentleman well skilled in heraldry, that Richard II. (in whose reign this gate was erected) adopted Edward as his patron saint, and bore his arms, sometimes on a separate shield, sometimes impaled (on the dexter side) with those of England and France quarterly. The buildings extend but a little way further in this direction, and there turn again at right angles. From the south-west corner of the church (or rather of the cloister) to this point, the range of building which has been here traced,

traced, was the western side of the precinct of the monastery, as it now is of the college.

At the point before mentioned, a little beyond the great gate, the building turns eastward, to form the south side. It is probably still applied to the same uses it ever was, those of stabling, &c. How much farther it extended in this direction, or whether no further than it now does, and the rest of the south side was made up by a wall, is not now to be ascertained.

Neither can it be ascertained where the south wall met the east. The precinct certainly extended considerably eastward of the prebendal houses. The lands and gardens in that part being still tythe-free, nearly as far as the street which proceeds from the bottom of the fore-hill in a southward direction to the Newmarket road, it is most probable that the eastern wall was thereabouts. The clausum, or close, of considerable monasteries, generally contained many acres.

The north boundary of the monastery probably ranged along the whole south side of the public street and market-place, where a part of the old wall remains, and a considerable extent of building, now used as two prebendal

prebendal houses, appropriated to the seventh and the fourth stalls. The former of these, the eastern one, is said to have been the almonry. Certainly the situation was very convenient for the poor of the city to make application for alms. This has been almost entirely modernized. Adjoining to it, westward, is the other, which, towards the street, is very much in its ancient state. Tanner says, the prebendary of the second stall hath the "camera sacristæ infra infirmariam;" and he also says, that the prebendary of the fourth stall hath the sextry. The sextry is only another name for the sacristy. Had the sacrist his dwelling in one of these spots, and his office for transacting business in the other? It might be so, for he had much business to transact, and this house was conveniently situated for access. The point must, however, be here left in the doubtfulness in which it is found. There are some further remains of ancient buildings westward of this house, from which it is likely that a wall crossed the church-yard to the Cathedral, or rather to the church of St. Cross, forming the western boundary of the monastery in this part. A portion of the space north of the church appears always to have been, what

the

the whole is, at present, a cœmetery to the parish church.

We have now, at least with competent accuracy, traced the outline of the monastery. The beginning of our circuit led us off from the deanery, before we had observed some particulars, in the neighbourhood of it, not undeserving of observation. We must now return to it.

The building which adjoins to the deanery on the west, and fronts east, now inhabited by the Registrar of the dean and chapter, was a part of the prior's lodge. The high sharp-pointed windows of his hall (erected by prior Crauden) still remain in the first story. From the corner of this room was a gallery, the arched entrance to which is still visible; it led to his private chapel and to some apartments beyond; for the lodge was built round a little court, of which the refectory was the north side. The east side of the court, opposite to the prior's hall, is now the prebendal house of the eighth stall. The crypt, on which it is built, is far more ancient than the others near it. Perhaps, indeed, it may not be absolutely in it's original state. The vaulting may have been rebuilt; the superstructure certainly has, and perhaps again

and

and again; but the columns, in form, proportion, and embellishment of capitals, are precisely like those of the conventual church, and utterly unlike any in the Cathedral. If any one be disposed to contend that this crypt is of the age of Ethelwold, I shall not argue against him; nor will I positively maintain that it is so. Thus much is certain, that it was not erected later than the Norman age, for all the arches are semicircular; and if it was erected then, the columns of some older building, at that time in ruins, were employed. Between this house and the deanery, are the traces of some huge chimneys, which afford reason to suppose that the great kitchen of the convent was in this spot. It was very conveniently near the refectory indeed, but must have been a great annoyance to the prior. And if we suppose it to have been his own private kitchen, the matter is but very little mended. Over this, by an arch at a considerable height, now bricked up, there seems to have been a private way for the prior from a spacious room, which was probably his study, to the refectory.

But the most curious part of the prior's lodge, is on the south side of this little court. It is

Prior Crauden's Chapel.

This is, certainly, one of the most interesting remains of antiquity at Ely, but one of the least known. Very few of those who have visited the buildings here, even professed antiquaries, who suppose themselves well acquainted with them, have seen, or perhaps even heard of this. It is not a little extraordinary, that the historian of Ely dismisses it with the slightest mention possible. Having spoken of the great works carried on in the time of prior Crauden, who sat from 1321 to 1341, he adds, that he "built a very handsome chapel of stone, covered with lead;" but he does not even say where, or that it is at present in being. It's having been so little visited may indeed, in great measure, be accounted for, from it's being a part of a private house. The persons who commonly shew the church, &c. can, of course, have no means of access to it. Neither can it be reasonably supposed, that they can

can put any casual visitor in the way of obtaining it.

What is here hinted concerning the impossibility of indiscriminate access to this curious object, will of course be understood as equally applicable, for the same reason, to some things already mentioned, and to others which will hereafter occur.

This chapel, like all the adjoining buildings has a crypt under it, in which there is nothing more observable than in the others. The entrance to it is at the west end. The length (which now includes an ante-room, a parlour, and a closet) is divided by clustered columns into four compartments. From the tops of the columns, sprung ribs of the vaulting, now done away to make room for a floor above. The first compartment is plain, and much larger than the others. The second is ornamented with niches richly decorated. In the other two are windows. This is descriptive of the south side only; the north having been altered by the addition of chimneys, but no doubt it was correspondent to the opposite. The east end projects a little beyond the compartments. In the projecting walls on either side, are niches highly ornamented.

The floor is elevated for the altar. It is a Mosaic picture representing the Fall. The whole floor of the chapel is also of Mosaic work, with a great variety of figures and a border, but it is not a picture. The colours are almost gone. In some few spots indeed, particularly near the altar, some traces of them may be found. It is otherwise damaged and defaced in some parts, but enough remains to give a very clear idea of the beauty of the whole. Excellent plates of this most curious piece of antiquity, with sections, elevations, &c. of the whole, and different parts of it, have been lately given by Mr. Wilkins, junior, in the fourteenth volume of the Archæologia.

No satisfactory view of the windows can be had withinside, on account of the floor, which intersects them. They must, therefore, be viewed externally. The two on the south side are very high and sharp, like those of the same age already viewed; but they have only one mullion, which is not usual in windows of that time. It is a form accommodated to the narrow compartments in which they are placed. The east window is ample, has four mullions and five lights. The tracery of the upper part is very perfect, and of forms uncommonly elegant.

The

The Ruins of the Conventual Church.

In my orignal work, entitled, A Guide to the Cathedral Church and Collegiate Buildings at Ely, I did not think it necessary to say any thing by way of proof of the alleged antiquity of these fine remains. I entertained no doubts myself, and I was not aware that they were entertained by others. I therefore only introduced my account of them by some short remarks on bishop Tanner's indecision, expressed in his letter to Browne Willis, about the site of St. Etheldreda's church. Had I looked into his Notitia Monastica, before I wrote that paragraph, even those remarks would have been spared. Having considered the subject further, he there speaks of it as all other writers have spoken, so far as I know, who have had occasion to mention it.

But I now feel myself in a manner called upon to enter somewhat more fully on the subject. Some strangers, whose opinions seem to claim respect from me, and whom I have accompanied in their view of our antiquities, have not appeared satisfied of the reality of this part of them. And since I am

known as the author of this work, I have received from enquirers not less respectable, a request to point out the authorities on which I date one of our buildings so early as A. D. 673. But from neither quarter do I hear any other ground of doubt, than the vague and suspicious accounts given by the historians of dark and distant ages; the rigid caution with which pretensions to high antiquity should be scrutinized; the improbability of so very long a duration of ruined and mutilated buildings; and the difficulty of conceiving such correct and elaborate execution to be the work of a rude, and at least semi-barbarous age. To objections so general it is by no means easy to reply. I can do no otherwise than state the general argument, and comment upon it.

As a general foundation, I rest throughout on the authorities cited by Mr. Bentham, consisting of books, printed and manuscript, to be found in several curious libraries, and of deeds, charters, and other original documents, preserved in the archives of the church of Ely, or in other similar repositories. The most important passages he has quoted at the bottom of his page; for others he has referred to the books in which they are to be found.

I have

I have never heard any suspicion suggested of the general fairness and correctness of his references or citations. I have therefore not followed him through his examination of these, with a view to confirming or correcting his deductions from them. A profession which imposes daily and almost hourly duties upon me, does not leave me sufficient leisure. Neither have I any adequate inducement. If some definite objection were started, in some important particular, either to the accuracy of Mr. Bentham's conclusions, or to the validity of his authorities, it would certainly claim an attentive consideration. But unless that were the case, to traverse such rugged and dreary ground, already beaten, would be unnecessary and unfruitful drudgery. In any case in which I have felt doubt or suspicion on a particular point, I have done it, but in such a case only.

From those authorities, then, commencing in the seventh century, and continuing to the beginning of the twelfth (for it seems quite unnecessary to come lower than the building of the Cathedral), the following historical particulars are deduced. That St. Etheldreda began to build a monastery at Ely—and took on herself the government of it in the year

673—that about two hundred years after, horrible devastation and massacre were committed by the Danes, who, in 870, broke into the Isle, and laid it waste with fire and sword—that very soon after, a college of secular priests occupied the ruined and vacant buildings, repaired some of them, and in particular the church, sufficiently for their use—that in the year 970, in the reign of Edgar, the great rebuilder of monasteries, this was restored to it's former state by St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, who placed in it an abbot and monks—that it continued in this state till a new conventual church, begun in 1081, was consecrated in 1106, and in 1109 converted into a cathedral.

And these particulars constitute a regular, coherent, and credible account, supported by the concurrent authority of several writers, with which no contrary or inconsistent testimony interferes; none, at least, has ever been produced or pretended. It is mixed, no doubt, with much foolish fable by monkish writers; but if that cannot be rejected without endangering the credibility of such plain facts as the building of a church, the endowing of a monastery, or an inroad of the enemy, it is much to be apprehended, that some

some historians of eminent name, civil as well as ecclesiastical, must be as cautiously suspected as the Saxon chroniclers. In either case, we receive such facts, with whatsoever fabulous matter they may be intermixed, because we are sure, that at or near the time, a writer could have no object in advancing falsehood of such a sort, and no possibility of being believed. He might easily, indeed, in those times, persuade his immediate readers to believe a miracle which had never been performed, and even that they were themselves witnesses of it; but not to admit the existence of a church, in their own neighbourhood or residence, which had never been built, or the destruction of one yet standing. The falsifiers of historical facts must use many cautions, and, among others, must take care to maintain a proper distance both in time and place.

But if the general fairness of these observations be admitted, still the application of them to the present ruins may be doubted. Now, from examination of the form, dimensions, proportions, and ornaments of them, it is plain they were a building of a *different* age from that of the Cathedral. They are such as by general consent of antiquaries, who have

have given most attention to these enquiries, have been deemed characteristic of the architecture of our ancestors *prior* to the conquest. From contemporary authority it appears, that when the new conventual and present cathedral church was erected in the beginning of the twelfth century, a more ancient church within the precinct of the monastery was disused. That descriptive particulars of the state of it, at that or at any other early time, that any account of its exact site, dimensions, ornaments, or other distinctive marks, should occur in the loose memorials of dark and incurious ages, is not to be expected. But where is the reason to doubt the fact? Liber Eliensis, a fine MS. of the twelfth century, frequently cited by Mr. Bentham, contains an account of the principal events in the monastery, from the foundation to about A. D. 1200, intermixed with a great number of papal bulls and epistles, of charters from kings, archbishops, and bishops, and of ample narratives of the miracles of St. Etheldreda. It appears to have been compiled from older accounts, then in the archives of the church, but long since perished; and to have been done in the most simple and inartificial manner. In some chapters, in which events

long

long before the time of the writers are narrated, the present tense and first person are used, which shew clearly that the more ancient record was literally copied. The greatest part of it was written by prior Richard, who died in 1194, and the remainder by Thomas, a monk. The former speaks of being present at the removal of the bodies of some eminent persons from the old to the new church, by bishop Nigel in 1144. He relates also the solemn translation of the remains of St. Etheldreda and her kindred saints at the consecration in 1106, an event which had happened but very little before his time, and must have been well remembered by many of his contemporaries. He gives what was at that time, no doubt, the received history of the old church; that it was begun, but not finished, by Etheldreda, restored by Ethelwold to it's original beauty, and, in time, so much decayed, that the convent had rebuilt one part of it, and disused the other. I am not to be understood to advance this as authoritative proof of the highest alleged antiquity of the conventual ruins, but I conclusively deduce from it, that in prior Richard's time there was a building of great antiquity, falling into ruin. The question is, whether it was the same

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of which considerable remains still exist? That it was so, there is one proof from which it seems impossible to escape. The Liber Eliensis mentions the rebuilding of the eastern part of the old church in an ampler form, at the same time that the new church was erecting. It was finished four years before the consecration of that fabric, and was probably intended for a Lady chapel. The present appearance of the conventual church exactly agrees with this account. Is it possible that this appearance should be delusive? On what supposition can it be so? Either that in the time of prior Richard there existed some other building besides this, resembling it in so strong a particular, and what is now in ruins was then in sound repair, and in use for some purpose or other, no where mentioned; or else, that the building we now have, was absolutely unknown to that writer, having been erected after his time. Each of these suppositions seems to require a stretch of credulity, as great as would be sufficient, on the other hand, to swallow the Liber Eliensis in the gross, with all its legends. That such a building should have arisen and fallen into decay, without any notice taken of it in any age through which it passed; that another,

other, exactly resembling it in description, standing not only within the precinct, but near the present church, should have vanished so as to leave no vestige or tradition of its site; that a building bearing the characteristic marks of the Saxon or very early Norman works, should have been erected at the very end of the Norman age, or even after the commencement of the English style, which we know had a very early introduction at Ely;—are surely improbabilities full as great as that the claim to the highest pretended antiquity should be literally true. No more, however, is meant to be concluded from the argument, than that at the end of the eleventh century, the old conventual church, of which the remains still exist, had fallen into decay; that in consequence, a new church was erected near it, the east end of the old one being at the same time rebuilt, and the western part disused, which part was then understood to be the church originally begun by St. Etheldreda in the seventh, and restored by St. Ethelwold in the tenth century. How much of it is to be attributed to the one, and how much to the other, I am not so sanguine as to attempt to ascertain. The cautious antiquary may, if he thinks it safer, place it all in

in the latter date; I will not contend with him; and if he smile at my zeal in persuading myself, that a considerable but unassignable portion of it is absolutely original, I shall neither feel offended nor refuted. I must observe, that *renovare*, *restaurare*, *reparare*, are the words used in the Liber Eliensis to characterize the work of Ethelwold. He is said to have made it "*non minus eximium et* "*eminens quam prius*," "*tectis reparatis quæ* "*igne fuerant consumpta*;" expressions which seem clearly to exclude the supposition that he had entirely rebuilt it. It is said that he found it "*non ut cœnobium vel ut publicum monasterium*," but that "*sine cultu et reverentia omni transeunti patebat*." — These words seem altogether inconsistent with utter demolition and entire re-edification. Edgar, the contemporary king, is said in another place, to have given 40 hides of land in a certain district called Hetfelde, which was "*saltuosa regio, ut materiam ad opus ecclesiæ satisque lignorum suos usus ad explendos fratres inde habere possent*." It was therefore wood which they wanted for roofs and internal fitting. Of stone or other materials for walls, no mention is made. I must also observe, that in the year 1081, scarcely four hundred years

years had elapsed from the time of the foundress, and very little more than one hundred from that of Ethelwold; that the latter was a very short period for any such building to have fallen into decay, and the former not at all an improbable time of duration.

It is perfectly obvious, that the whole building was not the work of any *one* age. The nave, the side aisles, and the chancel, are all uniform and consistent. At the lofty arch now worked up into a wall, Bentham places the original semicircular east end. When that was taken down, the arch was erected, opening into an additional building, which Bentham calls a tribuna. A part of the original fabric it could not have been. The arch is much loftier than any of the others; and no arch of any sort could have a place there. Till very lately, I was inclined to fix this extension of the original church in the age of Ethelwold. The two parts seemed to exhibit the very points of similitude and difference, which might be expected between an earlier building, and one of that age in which we know that Saxon architecture had been much improved in amplitude of dimensions. Mr. Bentham, indeed, says in his account of Saxon churches, that he finds the semicircular

semicircular east end of this building was taken down in A. D. 1102, but he gives no reference to his authority. I had almost persuaded myself that it was misprinted for 1002, when I accidentally met with a reference, where it was much less likely to be found, in the account of the life of abbot Leofric. The Liber Eliensis decisively proves the later date.

At what *earlier* period the other part was built, it is certainly difficult to fix with precision. I have placed it at A. D. 673. In this I have followed Mr. Bentham, who positively says that it was then begun, and gives the authority of writers contemporary, or of the next age. As it was the year of Etheldreda's foundation, it seemed the best that could be selected, in order to place in a chronological series, one event which must be in some degree indefinite, among others either better or precisely ascertained. He also calls it the church of St. Etheldreda, and I have followed him in calling it so. Not that it was strictly so. It is said to have been begun by her, but not finished till the days of her canonized successor, Sexburga, by whom her reliques were solemnly translated into it, as they were again into the new church in 1106. We know, that the foundation

dation of a monastery and the consecration of it's church, were never coincident, and seldom very near. Thirty, forty, or more years frequently elapsed, in completing the elaborate fabrics of Norman times. Some church was, indeed, absolutely necessary from the very first, but a temporary one was erected, to be used till a sufficient part of the intended fabric was finished, for the performance of divine services. A considerable interval may therefore be allowed in the present case, without material deduction from the venerable antiquity of our church, and without any real impeachment of the veracity or accuracy of the early historians. In Liber Eliensis, the translation of St. Etheldreda is placed in A. D. 695, but it does not follow that the whole church was at that time completed; perhaps no more of it than the east end.

If, however, the very cautious scrutinizer of the works of those dark ages, should not rest satisfied with this concession, there lies before him the space of two hundred years between the foundation of the monastery and the inroad of the Danes. There is abundant room for any competent judge of such a question to place the erection of the

church more correctly, by a stricter examination of authorities, or, where they fail, or are fairly to be suspected, by the best estimate of probabilities he can form. I think, however, it would be right to use due caution, not to advance too far from the known time of the foundation. And I cannot but contend for the far greater probability (were history quite silent) that it was built in the first than in the second hundred years. During almost the whole of the ninth century, our country was exposed to the desolating inroads of the Danes. It was a lamentable period, in which many religious edifices were destroyed, and which afforded no inducements or facilities to erect any. In any case I cannot but persuade myself that some part at least, of what we now see, was of the church which suffered in the barbarous devastation of 870.

It does not seem possible, nor has any one ever proposed, to place the erection of it lower than the time of Ethelwold. Of that opinion was bishop Tanner, when he wrote his letter to Browne Willis, being at that time a prebendary of this church, and certainly a very learned antiquary. He says, the ruins seem to be the remains of the church of St. Ethelwold; but that he cannot say where

where the church of St. Etheldreda stood. From all the historical authorities cited by Bentham, certainly nothing can be plainer, than that wherever was the site of St. Ethelwold's, there also was that of St. Etheldreda's church. It was, most probably, a due consideration of those authorities, which induced Tanner, in the Notitia Monastica, to correct his first opinion.

The improbability of so long a duration of ruined and mutilated walls, will not appear very great to those who consider the much longer continuance of ruined buildings in other countries, if not in our own. What would be thought of the incredulity of those who should doubt the reality of the splendid remains of ancient art in Italy, in Sicily, in Greece, in the Ægean islands, in Asia minor, or of the yet more remote and stupendous reliques of Egyptian grandeur? It would be thought an unreasonable and even a ridiculous doubt; because the origin of these magnificent edifices is recorded, or at least their existence in very remote ages recognized, by authors of competent authority. And in recording such facts, why should that of Saxon writers be more questioned? It should really seem, that the contemporary, or nearly con-

temporary testimony of an ignorant and credulous monk, however worthless in many respects, is, in such a case, as credible as that of a learned and philosophical historian.

But it is by no means certain, or even at all probable, that they have remained all those ages in a state of ruin and mutilation. It is not easy to guess how long they have been so. When this was disused as a conventual church, on the erection of the new one, a part of it at least was not only kept up, but even rebuilt; very probably, as has been already suggested, it was intended for a Mary chapel, if Mary chapels were at that time in use. Whether they were or were not is by no means certain; but if there were no chapels with that particular dedication, there were undoubtedly others, in very early times, annexed to various parts, and especially to the east ends of cathedral and conventual churches. It's proximity to the Hostry is not unfavourable to the above supposition. It is known that the old chapel was somewhere on the south side of the Cathedral. The arch which led to it is still visible in the south wall of the church, and the distance is very inconsiderable. If this conjecture be right, there

there would be a permanent interest in keeping up the building, and when it was no longer applied to that purpose, it is highly probable that it was used (the upper story of it at least) as a chapel to the infirmary, to which it adjoined. If no authority can be produced for such an appropriation, it is at least more probable than that the most sacred part of a church should in that age have been utterly desecrated. Since the dissolution, it has been a part of a dwelling-house. As to the nave, and it's aisles, which have in all ages been esteemed the least holy part of the church, they might perhaps have been left to dilapidate, had they not been applicable to an useful purpose. Upon the whole, every part of this very ancient fabric, in every age in which it has existed, either as a church, a chapel, or the support of contiguous buildings on either side, has afforded to the abbey, the priory, or the chapter, a successive and perpetual interest in maintaining it. Being the property of an ecclesiastical community, and standing within the precincts, it has been secure from those wanton and mercenary dilapidations, which have brought many venerable remains of antiquity, from a state of ruin to utter annihilation.

As to the difficulty of conceiving such correct and elaborate execution to be the work of a rude age, I must refer to the authorities cited in the notes to Bentham's fifth section. They seem to me to afford quite sufficient proof of the existence of very fine works in architecture in the seventh century. Mr. Bentham has sufficiently exploded the notion that all the Saxon churches were built of timber and shingles; a notion entertained by one antiquary of name, Mr. Somner, the historian of the antiquities of Canterbury, in which, if he was not absolutely singular, whatever currency it may have had, must have been derived from respect to such an opinion as his. Indeed, when those barbarians first came into this island, such mean edifices were the best, or even better than the best, of which they had any conception. It is not likely, that in the middle of the fifth century, they had much better notions of architecture, than those which Tacitus attributes to the German tribes in the end of the first or beginning of the second. History does not furnish us with room to believe, that they had made any material improvements in the fine arts in that interval. Certain it is, that they came hither into a state of much higher

higher civilization, than that which they left. On their arrival, they found many fine Roman buildings. At first, they made a great havoc among them, but not utter destruction. Some traces of them even still remain. In process of time, as they became more civilized, especially by their conversion to Christianity, they began to want, to admire, and to wish to imitate these edifices. They were indeed their only models. Proofs of this imitation are obvious in the shape of the arch, in some of the mouldings, and in the ornamental members of capitals. And it may here be observed, by the way, that those antiquaries who are not satisfied with names competently discriminative of our different ancient styles, but must have them precisely definite, would speak with perfect correctness if they denominated this the Saxo-Roman style. The earliest specimens, however, of this more generally, and with sufficient discrimination, called the Saxon style, were not the work of the Saxons themselves. They sent for artificers from abroad, improved themselves by the instructions of those able teachers, and soon became skilful architects. Some fine churches were erected thus in the seventh century, in which St. Etheldreda lived; and

Bede, Eddius, and other writers of the same or immediately following age, have given descriptions of them. Besides mentioning the form and materials of the buildings, they in particular notice the rich and various ornaments of capitals, arches, and columns. This exuberance of ornament cannot fairly be made an argument against high antiquity in the Saxon age. Many buildings generally allowed to be Saxon abound in it, and I am so well convinced of it, that I have ventured to mention, as a distinction between the Saxon and Norman styles, that the former abounds in ornament on particular parts, which the other leaves quite plain, producing a greater effect by simple magnificence. The famous church of Stewkley in Buckinghamshire, has been quoted by all writers, from Dr. Stukely to the most recent, as the most ancient and perfect example of the pure Saxon. Yet, surely, it has full as much partial ornament as our ruins. In all ages we must suppose that some edifices have had more, and some less of ornament than others, and it would be absurd to look for a certain uniform quantity of it to attest a date. Our church may well be conceived to have been a very magnificent one for it's time. It was begun, at least, by a royal

a royal personage of great opulence and great zeal, and executed under the superintendance of the great archbishop Wilfrid, whose life, among the xv. Scriptores, furnishes some of the best proofs of the ardor with which church architecture was cultivated in the age in which he lived. There are ample quotations to prove this point in the notes to Mr. Bentham's fifth section, and to them I refer. Should these accounts be suspected of being exaggerated, let deduction be made from them (if it be fairly made); but it cannot be supposed they are invented. However credulous, however fond of the marvellous, however given to romancing, a writer may be, he can surely never venture to fabricate a tale, which any of his readers in his own age may prove utterly false, by inspection of what he pretends to describe; much less can he stretch his imagination to the mere and absolute invention of what he never saw. Above all, he must be a strangely fortunate impostor, if, in any after age, an edifice unknown and unrecorded, should arise in any degree answerable to his description, and give any colour of probability to his romance. The vague and suspicious accounts of credulous annalists may be thought to afford a weak testimony,

testimony, but the absolute silence of all history does most certainly not furnish one strong enough to correct it.

Upon the whole, if it be not generally agreed, that the columns and arches we now behold were the work of the virgin queen, our foundress, in the year 673, let every competent judge form his opinion, on what seems to him the fairest ground of probability. If the absolute originality of a considerable part of them be denied, let them be deemed a work of the following century. In coming lower, we must encounter strong difficulties, and it does not seem even possible to come lower than Ethelwold. In any case, it is a most venerable ruin, and it is not easy to conceive that there is now in existence any one more worthy of the careful examination of curious lovers of antiquity. I proceed to the description of it.

There are ten columns on each side of the nave, alternately cylindrical and octagonal, and the octagonal ones alternately with a side and an angle in front. The arches are profusely enriched with a variety of mouldings. (See Plate II.) The side aisles are included in the prebendal houses on each side. By the recent removal of a large quantity of earth,

earth, the columns are now visible down to their bases. Immediately over the arches, is a row of Saxon windows, bricked up indeed, but the form of them is distinct. They shew that the building was only two stories high.

Through a low arch, adorned like the others, is the passage from the nave immediately to the choir or chancel. There neither is, nor has been, a tower in this part, or transepts. It is, I believe, pretty generally agreed, that those improvements in church architecture were introduced in the reign of Edgar. The authorities and examples cited by Bentham, in his fifth section, seem sufficiently conclusive. This form is therefore another presumptive proof, that our church was originally erected before that reign. A little beyond this arch, on the left hand side, and now inclosed in one of the houses, is a more curious one, which was the north entrance of the church. It is supported by singularly slender columns, clustered four together, and has an ornamented tympanum.

In my first work, I dismissed with a very slight notice the curious fabric added at the east end. Shall I be able to obtain pardon

pardon from any antiquary, if I confess that I had not at that time examined it? The truth is, that I received such an account of it, from those who had viewed it (and in whose judgment and testimony I thought it safe to acquiesce), as gave me the idea of plain vaulting, like that of the side aisles of the present church. I therefore felt no curiosity to inspect it, and thought myself warranted to say that it contained nothing but a plain groined ceiling, appearing by it's simplicity to be of an early age, but which it would be rash to refer to that of Ethelwold. I am now satisfied that it was erected A. D. 1102. The whole is divided into two vaults, each of which is supported by strong round ribs, crossing diagonally. The capitals and mouldings, with which it is much decorated, correspond with those in the other part of the church. (See Plate VIII.) And the only distinctive differences between the two parts are, that the middle column on each side is of a compound form, and the soffits of the arches are plain. It was at first open from the ground to the vault, as appears plainly by the columns. It is now divided by a floor into two stories, and seems to have been long so divided; for on each side

VAULT at the END of the CONVENTUAL CHURCH.

Drawn by G. Shepherd

Engraved by W. Woolnoth

To the Reverend Thomas Waddington, D.D. Prebendary of Ely,

This Plate, engraven at his expence, is gratefully inscribed by his much obliged and obedient Servant,

side of the upper story, near the east end, is an arch of the early English style, by which this room communicated with other parts of the building, which arches come no lower than the floor. The entrance is now through one of them. It has already been suggested, that this upper part was used as a chapel for the infirmary, which I believe always had one appropriated to it. In the plate, small plinths are represented at the bottom of the columns; this gives rather a wrong idea, as if those were the bases of them; whereas they go through the floor and the lower story to the ground. It is, however, no inaccuracy in the draughtsman, who designed exactly what he found. Some pieces of wood have been placed there, to give an appearance of a termination. I did not think of pointing this out to him, and as the plate is now engraven, I judge it better to make this remark, than to have the alteration made. In every other particular, the view is perfectly correct.

The nave and chancel of the church are now a grand approach to five of the prebendal-houses. The prebendary of the first stall inhabits the first on the south side. It is said to have been the cellarer's house; doubtless

doubtless a very proper situation, on account of it's nearness to the refectory, kitchen, and other offices. Next to this, on the same side, is the house belonging to the third stall, once the hostellary, where strangers were received and entertained. At the east end is that which is appropriated to the fifth stall, aforetime the infirmary; a good place for the sick, sufficiently remote from the more frequented parts of the convent, and near the fields and gardens. Next to this, on the north side, is the house inhabited by the prebendary of the second stall, in which is the north door of the church, lately mentioned. This is said to have been the sacristy, and was certainly a very convenient place for the sacrist, before this church was disused, and not inconvenient for access to the new one. There is great reason to suppose it was built by the illustrious sacrist Alan de Walsingham. It accords well enough with that date; and is therefore worthy of attention, as a specimen of the style of the domestic architecture of the splendid days of prior Crauden; for though most or all the other houses have been variously altered, this has undergone comparatively little change. The parapet, and the almost flat roof

roof covered with lead, are original. To whom the next house, now belonging to the prebendary of the sixth stall, once belonged, does not appear to have been ascertained or conjectured. There can be no harm in supposing that it might have been appropriated to the sub-prior.

Upon the whole, if there be no positive certainty, there is some countenance from tradition, and no little probability in favour of this general arrangement. It is obvious that the different parts of this monastery were built with much less regularity and connexion than is to be traced in many others. A great extent of buildings has been destroyed. This is evident from the prodigious quantity of hewn stone of various forms, fragments of columns, &c. now appearing in the walls which divide gardens and other inclosures in and about the precinct.

The Bishop's Palace

Ought certainly not to be passed unnoticed; but it will not be necessary to dwell long upon it. It stands nearly south-west of the church, and at a very little distance from it. There can be no doubt, that the ancient bishops

bishops of Ely had a more spacious and magnificent mansion, on the same spot. In it's present state, however, it is better suited to the modern system of life, than the huge piles of old times. It is fully adequate to the maintenance of episcopal dignity and hospitality. No building of it's kind can have more of the character of a good house, duly suited to the rank and revenue of the possessor. And all is in the most correct and substantial repair. The south front, towards the garden, is entirely modern, and contains a suit of spacious, handsome, and pleasant rooms. The north front is more ancient, but no part of it earlier than the latter end of the fifteenth century. The two wings were erected at that time by bishop Alcock. On the east wing are his arms and those of the see. The long gallery adjoining to the west wing, was erected by bishop Goodrich, as is proved by his arms under the bow-window, and the date, anno 3 Edw. VI. In this gallery are the pictures of several of the bishops. A very curious monument of antiquity is also preserved there, the Tabula Eliensis, representing the forty knights who were quartered on the monastery by William the Conqueror, each with his shield of

of arms, and a monk as his companion. This painting, which cannot perhaps be safely carried higher than the age of Henry VII. was taken from an ancient roll which hung in the refectory, and, by Mr. Cole's account in Bentham's Appendix, was in the possession of Blomefield, the historian of Norfolk; but what is become of it, is not known. There has been much controversy about this curious piece of antiquity. The roll cannot have been older than the beginning of the fourteenth century, as it contained the arms of bishop Orford. It might have been taken from a more ancient one; but there is no proof that it was.—The notion, that there is or was a picture contemporary with the subject (a notion maintained by the celebrated Dr. Stukeley), is sufficiently refuted in the Appendix to the History of Ely.—There is another curious old painting in the palace, representing the funeral procession of bishop Cox, in 1581.

III.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF SOME ANCIENT BUILDINGS PARTICULARLY CONNECTED WITH THE CONVENT.

SINCE the publication of "The Guide," it has occurred to me, that some account might very properly have been given of a few ancient buildings, which, though they form no part of the cathedral or convent, had a particular connexion with the one or the other, and ought therefore to receive some notice, that none of the ecclesiastical antiquities of our city might be omitted. Indeed, it boasts no interesting reliques of ancient civil edifices, and but inconsiderable traces of military works. The possession of the Isle of Ely was of great importance in times of invasion or of civil war. Before and since the inroad of the Danes, in the ninth century, it has many times been advantageously occupied, obstinately defended, and not without extreme difficulty taken. The nearest, and apparently the easiest approach, on the south side

side of the present town, was commanded by a castle. There is a lofty artificial mound, on which, no doubt, stood the keep. The directions of the outer ditches are but faintly and doubtfully discernible, partly on the south, and partly on the east side of this hill. It was certainly the work of a very early age. But I proceed to supply the deficiency in the Guide, and I begin with

St. Mary's Church.

In the division of lands and revenues in 1109, at the foundation of the bishopric, this church was assigned to the convent, and is now in the dean and chapter.

It contains some curious architectural remains, particularly the north and south door arches. They are pointed, and decorated with different sorts of Norman mouldings; but the columns have slender detached shafts, united under one capital, wreathed with foliage, as in the early English style. Of this mixture there is no other specimen at Ely, and I have not met with an account of such an one in any other place. There are indeed instances of the mixture of the two styles, in buildings erected near the end of the twelfth century;

the most conspicuous of which is that of the Temple church. But in this they are blended in the same arch and columns. (See Plate IX.) In the tower of the cathedral here, we have the Norman style with pointed arches; in the galilee, built a very few years after, we have the early English style; but each of these is perfectly and characteristically distinct. In the interval, between the erection of the one and the other, the public taste had undergone a change. It seems as if the work before us had been erected in that interval, and that the architect was disposed to adopt the new style, without quitting the old one. Now, it is known that the church of Saint Mary was rebuilt by bishop Eustachius, the founder of the galilee. In the Chronological Table, it is placed at 1215. That was the last year of bishop Eustachius, and therefore it had then been completed; but whether lately or long before, there are no means of ascertaining. He sat from 1197 to 1215. It seems impossible not to conjecture that these arches at St. Mary's were the earlier work of the two. In this case, the new style was superseding, and in the other had superseded the old one.

But

The NORTH ARCH of ENTRANCE to the PARISH CHURCH of ST. MARY.

PL. IX.

wn by C. Shepherd

Engrav'd by W. Woolnoth

To the Reverend Philip Yorke, M.A. Prebendary of Ely,

This Plate, engraven at his expence, is gratefully insribed by his much obliged & obedient Servant, George Millers.

But if these be deemed the most curious, I am persuaded that they are by no means the most ancient parts of the fabric. What I am about to say of the higher antiquity of the columns of the nave, I submit respectfully to the judgment of more learned antiquaries; by whom, I believe, they have been very little examined, but whose attention they richly deserve. They very closely resemble those which are certainly older than the cathedral. Their proportions are very nearly the same; the shafts are all simple and cylindrical; the ornamental divisions of the capitals are like those in the conventual ruins; but the arches they support are of the shape usual in the age in which this church was erected, the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. That they were first erected after the style, to which they belong, had been succeeded by another, which, in it's turn, was, at the very time of their erection, actually giving way to a third, is surely in the highest degree improbable. No mode of solving this difficulty seems so fair and free from objection, as that they had supported the older church, and were used again for the new one. Ely St. Mary was one of the oldest possessions of the convent; and, no doubt,

there must always have been a church here. Bishop Eustachius is said to have rebuilt, not to have founded it. This probability of the second use of the same columns, seems strengthened by another circumstance; that the low square plinths at the bottom of the shafts, do not stand on the ground, as is usual, but on rude and unshapely stone basements, appearing as if the soil had been removed, and part of the foundation laid bare. These short columns, with the semicircular arches which belonged to them, would have fallen far short of that loftiness which was at this time come into vogue; and, even assisted by these high and sharp-pointed arches, would not have reached it sufficiently, without some further relief, by giving more height to the columns themselves.

The chancel appears, by it's lancet windows, to have been erected in the same age; and a chapel on the south side, not many years posterior.

The Grange.

I am not sure that I am strictly correct in applying this name; but it is a point of no great importance, and I risk the use of it. The granges belonging to monasteries, were substantial

substantial houses, some of them very ample and even grand, which the abbot or prior used occasionally as country seats, and where some of the monks were stationed to superintend the agricultural concerns of the convents, on the demesne lands of their estates. Great monasteries had several granges. This seems too near the priory to have been used for the purpose of rural retreat; and, I believe, the barns, granaries, and other offices, belonging to the husbandry of the lands at home, were usually within the precinct. The case might indeed be otherwise here; but I cannot determine that point. This building derives an external air of importance from it's wide arch of entrance on the north side. It is now let on lease by the dean and chapter with the tithes of the two parishes of the Holy Trinity and St. Mary; and their lessee inhabits the house on the east side of the area, which has no particular marks of antiquity. The capacious barn, of brick and stone, occupying the whole south side of an ample space, inclosed by walls and farm buildings, has an ancient arched entrance, of the flat shape common in the age of Hen. VII. The east end of it, abutting on the churchyard of St. Mary, exhibits proof

of a much earlier age. It's lancet windows fix it to the thirteenth century. The singular long and narrow loops, for the admission of air to the housed grain, are in wonderfully sound preservation.

St. John's Hospital.

The site of this hospital is somewhat to the west of St. Mary's church, near the toll-gate on the Cambridge road. The remains of it are very scanty; sufficient indeed to shew that the buildings were of an early age, but not to afford any conjecture of their form and extent. No part can be fixed upon, with any degree of certainty, as having belonged to the chapel, hall, or other public room. There were, in early times, two hospitals; this dedicated to St. John Baptist; and another to St. Mary Magdalene, the very site of which is now unknown. The revenues of the two were united, and the communities associated and fixed here in the time of bishop Northwold, about the year 1240. It is not wonderful that the other buildings, having been disused so many ages, and either taken down or left to dilapidate, should have entirely disappeared. It seems, that this, like some other hospitals, was not dissolved

sôlved by Hen. VIII. for Edward Leeds, the second prebendary of the eighth stall, and chancellor of the diocese under bishop Goodrich, is found to be master of it early in the reign of queen Elizabeth. He was at that time chaplain to archbishop Parker, and master of Clare Hall, Cambridge. He obtained from the queen a grant of the hospital, and, with the consent of the then bishop Cox, surrendered the whole site and possessions to his college. His grant was confirmed by the dean and chapter, and the lands are still held of that college on lease of years.

APPENDIX.

THE following list of Dignitaries contains many truly great names. It will, I presume, support a comparison with that of any other church; and if, on comparison, the proportion of such names should be found even superior, it may be well accounted for, from the splendid opulence of the see in ancient times, till it was abridged by the reforming princes; from the many circumstances which to this day give it dignity and importance; and from its near neighbourhood and particular connexion with a celebrated University. In early times, when the great offices of state were generally filled by eminent ecclesiastics, we find among our prelates and our archdeacons many ambassadors, treasurers, chief justiciaries, chancellors, and, in bishop Longchamp, even a regent of the realm. Since the reformation, we enumerate many bright ornaments of our national church; and in our deanery and prebends, many of the most distinguished members of the

the neighbouring University have found the honourable reward of their labours and studies. Of twenty-one deans of Ely, fifteen have been heads of houses at Cambridge. Of the prebendaries, a great proportion have been masters, fellows, or otherwise eminent members of colleges.

There are two circumstances remarkable enough, I think, to deserve particular notice, because they seem to throw light on the different characters of times remote from each other. In the first hundred and ninety years from the foundation of the see, no instance occurs of a translation to Ely. The prior and convent had indeed, nominally, the election of bishops; but it appears that they could very seldom effect what they really wished. It was necessary that their choice should be ratified by the king and by the pope, whose interests were opposite and their powers undefined; each of whom availed himself of temporary circumstances to carry his own point; sometimes the one sometimes the other prevailing, and either, as he wished to strengthen his party by gratifying and attaching a powerful family, or gaining the services of an eminent individual, placed him at once in a situation of influence and splendor.

dor. In the last two centuries, on the contrary, not an instance occurs of the consecration of a bishop to the see of Ely. The last was bishop Heaton, in 1599. In this latter period, of more settled times and regular authorities, in which the right of appointment has been properly understood and ascertained, a consequent uniformity and gradation has been observable, and prelates have been advanced from other preferments, to one of more value and importance.

It may be added, that, upon the whole, of fifty-two bishops of Ely, exactly one half have been consecrated to the see, and one half translated from others; eight from Norwich, four from Worcester, the same number from Chichester, two from Rochester, and one each from Durham, Lincoln, Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Exeter, Bath and Wells, and St. Asaph. Only five have ever been translated from Ely; three to Canterbury, one to York, and one to Winchester; which last mentioned (and the last that happened), was that of the excellent bishop Andrews, in 1618.

The following list is taken, in general, from one printed by Mr. Bentham, a short time before the publication of his work. But it is differently

differently arranged, and has been much corrected and improved, from the larger accounts he afterwards gave, and from other sources of information. Only the ecclesiastical or academical dignities of the several persons are mentioned. In almost every instance, parochial preferment might, of course, have been added. But I have purposely omitted it for these reasons; that it would have occupied a considerable deal of room, and made the list less commodious for reference; that what is given I conceive to be most distinctive; and that, though I could have arrived at certainty in many instances, in others (and perhaps the greater number) I should have attempted it in vain: and I judged it better to omit entirely what I could not have made uniformly correct.

A CATALOGUE

OF THE

PRINCIPAL MEMBERS

OF THE

CONVENTUAL AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ELY.

A. D.	
	ABBESSES:
673.	St. Etheldreda, daughter of Anna king of the East Angles, the foundress.
679.	St. Sexburga, sister of the foundress.
699.	St. Ermenilda, daughter of Sexburga.
—	St. Werburga, daughter of Ermenilda.
	Many Abbesses, whose names are not recorded, succeeded till 870, when the monastery was ravaged by the Danes; and shortly after occupied by a college of secular priests, till the reign of king Edgar, when the abbey was refounded by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester.
	ABBOTS:
970.	Brithnoth, Prior of Winchester, who rebuilt the Conv. Ch.
981.	Elsin, or Elsi.
1019.	Leofwin, or Oschitel.
1022.	Leofric, Prior of Ely.
1029.	Leofsin.
1045.	Wilfric, a kinsman of Edw. the Conf.
1066.	Thurstan, who defended the Isle seven years against Will. the Conq.
1072.	Theodwin, a Norman.
1075.	Godfrey, Administrator.
1081.	Simeon, Prior of Winch. He laid the foundation of the present Ch. After his death, a vacancy of seven years.
1100.	Richard, who obtained the King's licence and the Pope's consent, to erect the Abbey into a Bishopric, but died before the change was completed.

A. D.	
1107.	Hervey, Bishop of Bangor, from which see he was ejected. He was made Administrator, and soon after Bishop.
	BISHOPS:
1109.	Hervey. A vacancy of two years after his death.
1133.	Nigel, Treasurer of England. After him a vacancy of four years.
1174.	Geoffry Ridel, Archdeacon of Canterbury.
1189.	William Longchamp, Chanc. of England, Pope's Legate, Chief Justiciary of England, Regent during the absence of Rich. I.
1197.	Eustachius, Dean of Sarum, Chanc. of Eng.; after whom was a vacancy of five years.
1220.	John de Fontibus, Abbot of Fountains.
1225.	Geoffry de Burgh.
1229.	Hugh de Northwold, Ab. of Bury St. Edmund's.
1254.	William de Kilkenny, Archd. of Coventry, Chanc. of Eng.
1257.	Hugh de Balsham, Sub-Prior of Ely.
1286.	John de Kirkeby, Canon of Wells and York, Chanc. and Treas. of Engl.
1290.	William de Luda, Archd. of Durh. Treas. of the King's household.
1299.	Ralph de Walpole, Archd. of Ely, Bp. of Norwich.
1302.	Robert de Orford, Prior of Ely.
1310.	John de Ketene, Almoner of the Priory of Ely.
1316.	John Hotham, Chanc. of the Exehequer, Chanc. of Engl.
1337.	Simon de Montacute, Bp. of Worcester.
1345.	Thomas L'Isle, a Dominican Friar.
1362.	Simon Langham, Ab. of Westm. Treas. and Chanc. of Engl. a Cardinal—translated to Canterbury.
1366.	John Barnet, Bp. of Bath and Wells, Lord Treas. Bp. of Worc.
1374.	Thomas de Arundel, Lord Chanc.—transl. to York, and thence to Cant.
1388.	John Fordham, Bp. of Durham, Lord Treas.
1426.	Philip Morgan, Bp. of Worcester: a vacancy of three years.
1438.	Lewis de Luxemburgh, Archb. of Rouen, a Cardinal:—held his Bishopric by Papal dispensation, as Perpet. Administ.
1443.	Thomas Bourchier, Bp. of Worcest. Lord Chanc.: trans. to Cant.

A. D.	
1454.	William Gray, D. D. Archd. of Richmond, Treas. of Engl.
1478.	John Morton, LL.D. Chanc. of Eng.: transl. to Cant.
1486.	John Alcock, LL.D. Bp. of Worcester, Lord Chanc.: a vacancy of one year.
1501.	Richard Redman, D.D. Bp. of St. Asaph and of Exeter: a vacancy of one year.
1506.	James Stanley, D.D. Archd. of Richmond, Precen. of Sarum.
1515.	Nicholas West, LL.D. Dean of Windsor.
1534.	Thomas Goodrich, D.D. Lord Chanc.; a zealous Reformer.
1554.	Thomas Thirlby, LL.D. Bp. of West. and of Norw.: deprived under Q. Eliz.
1559.	Richard Cox, D.D. Master of Eton School, Preceptor to Edw. VI. Archd. of Ely, Dean of Christ-Church and of West. After his death a vacancy of little less than twenty years.
1599.	Martin Heton, D.D. Dean of Winch. Canon of Christ Church.
1609.	Lancelot Andrews, D.D. Master of Pemb. Hall, Bp. of Chich.: translated hence to Winchester.
1619.	Nicholas Felton, D.D. Master of Pemb. Hall, Bp. of Bristol. A vacancy of a year and half.
1628.	John Buckeridge, D.D. Pres. of St. John's Coll. Oxford, Bp. of Rochest.
1631.	Francis White, D.D. Bp. of Carlisle, and Norw.
1638.	Matthew Wren, D.D. Master of St. Pet. Coll. Camb. Dean of Windsor, Bp. of Hereford and of Norw. A great sufferer in the Rebellion and Usurpation, but outlived them.
1667.	Benjamin Laney, D.D. Master of Pemb. Hall, Dean of Roch. Bp. of Peterb. and of Linc.
1674.	Peter Gunning, D.D. Master of Ben. Coll. Camb. and of St. John's, Bp. of Chich.
1684.	Francis Turner, D.D. Master of St. John's Coll. Cam. Dean of Windsor, Bp. of Rochester: deprived as a Nonjuror in 1690.
1691.	Simon Patrick, D.D. Dean of Peterb. Bp. of Chich.
1707.	John Moore, D.D. Bp. of Norwich.
1714.	William Fleetwood, D.D. Bp. of St. Asaph.
1723.	Thomas Greene, D. D. Master of Ben. Coll. Camb. Archd. of Cant. Bp. of Nor.

A. D.	
1738.	Robert Butts, D.D. Dean and Bp. of Norw.
1748.	Thomas Gooch, D.D. Master of Gonv. and Cai. Coll. Cam. Bp. of Brist. and of Norw.
1754.	Matthias Mawson, D.D. Master of Ben. Coll. Cam. Bp. of Landaff and of Chich.
1771.	Edmund Keene, D.D. Master of St. Pet. Coll. Camb. Bp. of Chester.
1781.	James Yorke, D.D. Canon of Windsor, Dean of Linc. Bp. of St. Davids and of Gloucester.

ARCHDEACONS:

1109.	Nicholas, Archd. of Huntingdon.
1117.	William de Laventon.
1160.	Richard de Ely, or Fitzneal, Treas. of Engl. Bp. of London.
1189.	Richard Barre, one of the King's Justices.
1210.	Stephen Ridel.
1214.	Adam de Tilney.
1219.	Giles, Chaplain to Pope Gregory IX.
1238.	Robert de Leicester.
1249.	Nicholas de Ely, Chanc. and Treas. of Engl. Bp. of Worcest. and of Winch.
1267.	John Balsham.
1271.	Ralph de Walpole. See Bishops.
1289.	John de Oseville.
1292.	Ralph de Fodringay, Preb. of Lincoln.
1316.	William, a Cardinal Priest.
1335.	Richard de Byntworth, Bp. of London.
1335.	John de Offord, Dean of Lincoln, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chanc. Abp. of Cant.
1344.	Gaillard de Mota, a Cardinal Deacon, Archd. of Oxford, and Precen. of Chich.
1357.	James de Beaufort, Archd. of London, Prebend of St. Stephen's Westm.
1363.	Androynus, a Cardinal, Abbot of Clugni, Pope's Nuncio.
1376.	Edward Burnell, Preb. of Sarum.
1379.	John Chrystchirch, Rector of Cottenham, which he exchanged with Burnell for the Archdeaconry.
1387.	Thomas Pattesle.
1387.	Thomas de Dalby, Preb. of Sarum and of Lincoln, Rector of Cottenham, which he exchanged with Pattesle for the Archdeacony.

A. D.	
1388.	Thomas Feriby, Preb. of York.
1394.	Richard Clifford, Dean of York, Bp. of Worcest. and of Lond. Lord Privy Seal.
1397.	Adam de Mottrum, Archd. of Cant. Preb. of Sarum.
1397.	John Welborn, LL.D. Precentor of Sarum.
1409.	John Metfield, LL.D. Chanc. of Ely.
1411.	Robert Wetheringsete, Preb. of Linc.
1444.	John Stokes, LL.D. Chanc. of Ely, Precentor of Sarum.
1466.	Richard Bole, LL.B. The Bishop's Official.
1477.	Richard Robinson, LL.D. The Bishop's Official.
1479.	Thomas Morton, Preb. of St. Paul's.
1496.	Thomas Alcock, LL.D. Master of Jes. Coll. Camb. Chanc. of Ely.
1527.	Nicholas Hawkins, LL.D.
1534.	Thomas Thirlby, LL.D. See Bishops.
1541.	Richard Cox, D.D. See Bishops.
1552.	Henry Cole, LL.D. Dean of St. Paul's, Warden of New Coll. Oxf.; a zealous Papist, confined in the reign of Elizabeth.
1556.	John Boxall, D.D. Dean of Windsor, Norwich, and Peterb.; deprived and confined under Q. Eliz.
1559.	Robert Wisdom, B.D.
1568.	John Parker, M.A. Preb. of Ely.
1592.	John Palmer, D.D. Preb. of Ely, Mast. of Magd. Coll. Camb. Dean of Peterb.
1600.	Robert Tinley, D.D. Preb. of Ely and of St. Paul's.
1616.	Daniel Wigmore, D.D. Preb. of Ely; deprived in the Great Rebellion.
1646.	Edmund Mapletoft, M.A. Preb. of Ely; collated but never inducted.
1660.	Bernard Hale, D.D. Preb. of Ely. Master of St. Pet. Coll. Camb.
1663.	Thomas Wren, LL.D. Preb. of Ely.
1679.	Barnabas Oley, M.A. Preb. of Worc.; a great sufferer for his loyalty to Charles I.
1680.	William Saywell, D.D. Preb. of Ely, Mast. of Jes. Coll. Cam.
1701.	Richard Bentley, D.D. Mast. of Trin. Coll. Cam. Reg. Prof. of Divinity.
1742.	Robert Eyton, D.D.
1751.	Charles Plumtre, D.D. Preb. of Norwich.
1779.	Richard Watson, D.D. Bp. of Llandaff, Reg. Prof. of Divinity at Camb.

A. D.	PRIORS:
1109.	Vincent.
. . .	Henry.
1133.	William.
1144.	Tombert al. Thembert.
1154.	Alexander.
1163.	Soloman, afterwards Abbot of Thorney.
1177.	Richard, author of Liber Eliensis.
1194.	Robert Longchamp, afterwards Abbot of St. Mary's, York.
1197.	John de Strateshete, elected by the Monks, sede vacante. The Priors had hitherto been collated by the Bishop.
1200.	Hugh.
1215.	Roger de Brigham, in whose time the privilege of electing a Prior was confirmed by the Pope.
1229.	Ralph.
1241.	Walter.
1259.	Robert de Leverington.
1271.	Henry de Banccis, or Banks.
1273.	John de Hemmingston.
1288.	John de Shepreth.
1291.	John Saleman, al. Salmon, de Melre, or de Ely; elected Bishop of Ely, but the election annulled by the Pope; Bp. of Norw. Lord Chanc.
1299.	Robert de Orford. See Bishops.
1302.	William de Clare.
1303.	John de Fresingfield.
1321.	John de Crauden, Crouden or Crowden; elected Bishop, but the election annulled by the Pope.
1341.	Alan de Walsingham; elected Bishop, but the election superseded by papal provision.
1364.	William Hathfield.
1366.	John Bucton.
1397.	William Walpole.
1401.	William Powcher, a Monk of Ely; 11 years Abbot of Walden, but returned to Ely on being elected Prior.
1418.	Edmund Walsingham.
1425.	Peter de Ely, elected Bishop, but set aside by the Pope.
1430.	William Wells.
1462.	Henry Peterborough.
1478.	Roger Westminster.

A. D.	
1500.	Robert Colvile.
1510.	William Witlesey.
1516.	William Foliott.
1516.	John Cottenham.
1522.	Robert Wells, al. Steward; the laſt Prior and firſt Dean.

DEANS:

1541.	Robert Steward, al. Wells, M.A.
1557.	Andrew Perne, D.D. Maſt. of St. Pet. Coll. Camb. Preb. of Weſtm.
1589.	John Bell, D.D. Maſt. of Jes. Coll. Camb.
1591.	Humphrey Tindall, D.D. Maſt. of Queen's Coll. Camb. Chanc. of Lichfield, Archd. of Stafford.
1614.	Henry Cæsar, al. Adelmare, D.D. Preb. of Weſtm.
1636.	William Fuller, D.D.; expelled in 1642.
1646.	William Beale, D.D. Maſt. of Jes. and of St. John's Coll. Camb.; nominated but never installed; a ſufferer for loyalty.
1660.	Richard Love, D.D. Maſt. of Ben. Coll. Camb. and Lady Margaret's Prof. of Div. Preb. of Lichfield.
1660.	Henry Ferne, D.D. Maſt. of Trin. Coll. Camb. Bp. of Cheſter.
1662	Edward Martin, D.D. Maſt. of Queen's Coll. Camb.; a ſufferer for loyalty.
1662.	Francis Wilford, D.D. Maſt. of Ben. Coll. Camb. Archd. of Bedford.
1667.	Robert Mapletoft, D.D. Maſt. of Pemb. Hall. Camb. Sub-Dean of Lincoln.
1677.	John Spencer, D.D. Maſt. of Ben. Coll. Camb. Archd. of Sudbury.
1693.	John Lamb, D.D.
1708.	Charles Roderick, LL.D. & D.D. Maſt. of Eton School, Prov. of King's Coll.
1713.	Robert Moss, D.D. Preacher at Gray's Inn.
1729.	John Frankland, D.D. Maſt. of Sid. Suss. Coll. Camb. Dean of Glouc.
1730.	Peter Allix, D.D. Dean of Gloucester.
1758	Hugh Thomas, D.D. Maſt. of Chriſt's Coll. Camb.
1780.	William Cooke, Maſt. of Eton School, Prov. of King's Coll.
1797.	William Pearce, D.D. Maſt. of the Temple, Maſt. of Jes. Coll. Camb.

A. D.	
	PREBENDARIES OF THE FIRST STALL:
1541.	Richard Cox, D.D. See Bishops.
1554.	John Boxall, D.D. See Archdeacons.
1559.	John Warner, M.D. Reg. Prof. of Med. Warden of All Soul's Coll. Oxf. Dean of Winch.
1565.	John Parker, M.A. See Archeacons.
1592.	John Palmer, M.A. See Archdeacons.
1614.	Daniel Wigmore, B.D. formerly a Minor Canon. See Archdeacons.
1615.	John Bois, B.D. one of the translators of the Bible.
1643.	John Montfort, D.D. Preb. of St. Paul's; collated, but not installed.
1651.	Edmund Mapletoft, M.A.; collated, but not installed. See Archdeacons.
1652.	Stephen Hall, B.D.; not installed till 1660.
1661.	John Pearſon, D.D. Mast. of Jes. and of Trin. Coll. Camb. Bp. of Chester.
1672.	John Spencer, D.D. See Deans.
1677.	John Moore, D.D. See Bishops.
1691.	Charles Roderick, D.D. See Deans.
1708.	Robert Cannon, D.D. Archd. of Norf. Preb. of Westm. Dean of Linc.
1722.	Thomas Jones, B.D.
1759.	Henry Heaton, B.D.
1777.	Peploe Ward, D.D. present Prebendary.
	PREBENDARIES OF THE SECOND STALL:
1541.	Mathew Parker, D.D. Mast. of Ben. Coll. Camb. Dean of Lincoln; depriv. by Queen Mary; Abp. of Canterbury.
1554.	John Young, D.D. Mast. of Pemb. Hall, Camb.; deprived and imprisoned under Q. Eliz.
1560.	John Porie, D.D. Mast. of Ben. Coll. Camb. Preb. of Cant.
1563.	Thomas Hill, M.A.
1564.	Robert Beaumont, D.D. Mast. of Trin. Coll. Camb. Reg. Prof. of Div. Archd. of Hunt.
1567.	Thomas Ithell, LL.D. Mast. of Jes. Coll. Camb. Chanc. of Ely.
1579.	Robert Norgate, D.D. Mast. of Ben. Coll. Camb. Preb. of Linc.
1587.	Thomas Nevile, D.D. Mast. of Magd. and of Trin. Coll. Camb. Dean of Cant.

A. D.	
1615.	John Bois, B.D. See Prebs. of First Stall.
1616.	Daniel Wigmore, B.D. See Prebs. of First Stall, and Archdeacons.
1660.	Bernard Hale, D.D. See Archdeacons.
1663.	Anthony Sparrow, D.D. Mast. of Queen's Coll. Camb. Archd. of Sudbury, Bp. of Exeter and of Norwich.
1667.	John Lightfoot, D.D. Mast. of Cath. Hall, Camb.
1675.	Henry Harrison, D.D.
1690.	The Hon. Henry Finch, M.A. Dean of York.
1692.	Thomas Lovett, M.A.
1698.	Robert Middleton, M.A.
1713.	Thomas Tanner, D.D. Chanc. of Norw. Archd. of Norf. Canon of Christ Church, Bp. of St. Asaph.
1723.	Clement Tookie, LL.D.
1748.	John Nicols, D.D. Preacher of the Charter House.
1774.	Richard Watson, D.D. See Archdeacons.
1779.	James Bentham, M.A. Historian of the Church of Ely, formerly a Minor Canon.
1795.	Philip Yorke, M.A.
1795.	George Owen Cambridge, M.A. Archd. of Middlesex, present Prebendary,

PREBENDARIES OF THE THIRD STALL:

1541.	William May, LL.D. Chanc. of Ely, Mast. of Queen's Coll. Camb. Dean of St. Paul's; deprived by Queen Mary; nominated Abp. of York, but not consecrated.
1561.	Thomas Styward, M.A.
1568.	John Whitgift, D.D. Mast. of Pemb. Hall and of Trin. Coll. Camb. Lady Marg. and Reg. Prof. of Div. Dean of Linc. Bp. of Worces. Abp. of Cant.
1577.	John Boothe, B.D.
1602.	Robert Tinley, D.D. See Archdeacons.
1616.	Hierom Beale, D.D. Mast. of Pemb. Hall, Preb. of Chiches.
1630.	Elizeus Burgess, B.D. Archd. of Roch.; ejected in the Usurpation.
1652.	William Holder, D.D. not installed till 1660; Residentiary of St. Paul's, Dean of the Chapel Royal.

A. D.	
1697.	Thomas Richardson, D.D. Mast. of St. Pet. Coll. Camb.
1700.	Drew Cressener, D.D.
1717.	Charles Fleetwood, LL.D. Canon of Exeter, Archd. of Cornwall.
1737.	Thomas Greene, D.D. Chanc. of Litch. Preb. of Westm. Dean of Sarum.
1780.	William Cooke, D.D. See Deans.
1780.	Benjamin Underwood, M.A. present Prebendary.
	PREBENDARIES OF THE FOURTH STALL:
1541.	William Lyson, or Leson, LL.D. Preb. of Litchf.
1549.	Richard Wilks, B.D. Mast. of Christ's Coll. Camb.; deprived by Q. Mary.
1560.	John Ebden, D.D. Archd. of Durham and of Winch. Preb. of St. Paul's and of Winch.
1562.	Matthew Hutton, D.D. Mast. of Pemb. Hall, Camb. Lady Marg. and Reg. Prof. of Div. Preb. of Westm. Dean of York, Bp. of Durh. Abp. of York.
1567.	Henry Hervey, LL.D. Mast. of Trin. Hall, Camb. Precentor of St. Paul's, Archd. of Middlesex, Chanc. of Ely, Dean of the Arches.
1584.	Thomas Nuce, B.D.
1617.	Roger Andrews, D.D. Mast. of Jes. Coll. Camb. Preb. Archd. and Chanc. of Chich. Preb. of Winch.; a translator of the Bible.
1635.	John Harris, M.A. Greek Prof. at Oxf.
1660.	Henry Brunsell, LL.D.
1678.	William Saywell, D.D. See Archdeacons.
1701.	Charles Ashton, D.D. Mast. of Jes. Coll. Camb.
1752.	Henry Goodall, D.D. Archd. of Suff. Preb. of Norw.
1753.	John Gooch, D.D.
1804.	Cæsar Morgan, D.D. formerly a Minor Canon, present Prebendary.
	PREBENDARIES OF THE FIFTH STALL:
1541.	Giles Eyre, D.D. Preb. of Westm. and York, Dean of Chich.
1549.	Anthony Otway, LL.B.
1554.	John Fuller, LL.D. Mast. of Jes. Coll. Camb. Chanc. of Ely. Preb. of St. Paul's.
1560.	Thomas Willet.
1587.	Andrew Willet, B.D.

A. D.	
1621.	Ralph Brownrigge, D.D. Mast. of Cath. Hall, Camb. Preb. of Litch. Archd. of Coventry, Preb. of Dur. Bp. of Exeter, but never enthroned.
1660.	John Pearson, D.D. See Prebendaries of First Stall.
1661.	Thomas Wren, M.D. LL.D. See Archdeacons.
1679.	Humphrey Gower, D.D. Mast. of Jes. and St. John's Colls. Camb. Lady Marg's. Prof. of Div.
1711.	John Davies, LL.D. D.D. Mast. of Queen's Coll. Camb.
1731.	Christopher Clarke, M.A. Archd. of Norw.
1742.	The Hon. Charles Hervey, D.D.
1783.	Thomas Roger du Quesne, M.A. Chanc. of the Church of St. David's.
1793.	Thomas Waddington, D.D. present Prebendary.

PREBENDARIES OF THE SIXTH STALL:

1541.	John Customs, late a Monk of Ely.
1543.	Thomas Bacon, B.D. last Mast. of Gonvile Hall, and first of Gonvile and Caius Coll. Camb.
1559.	Andrew Deane, M.A.
1566.	John Bell, D.D. See Deans.
1589.	Edward Grant, D.D. Mast. of Westm. School, Preb. of Westm.
1601.	John Hills, D.D. Preb. and Archd. of Linc. Mast. of Cath. Hall, Camb.
1626.	James Wedderburne, D.D. Preb. of Wells, Bp. of Dumblane.
1636.	Nehemiah Rogers, M.A.; a lineal descendant of the martyr: deprived in the great rebellion.
1660.	Laurence Womack, D.D. Archd. of Suff. Preb. of Heref. Bp. of St. Dav.
1686.	Francis Roper, B.D.: deprived as a nonjuror.
1690.	Francis Ferne, M.A.
1714.	Whadcock Priest, B.D.
1714.	Ralph Perkins, LL.D.
1751.	John Samuel Hill, D.D. Preb. of York.
1757.	Thomas D'Oyly, LL.D. Archd. of Lewes, Chanc. of Chich.
1770.	Matthias D'Oyly, M.A. Archd. of Lewes.
1787.	Houston Radcliffe, D.D. Preb. of Cant. Archd. of Cantb.
1795.	Philip Yorke, M.A. present Prebendary.

A. D.

PREBENDARIES OF THE SEVENTH STALL:

1541. Robert Hamond, late Sub-Prior of Ely: deprived under Q. Mary.
1554. Thomas Ellis, late Prior of Leigh in Essex, Preb. of Norw.
1556. Thomas Peacocke, B.D. Mast. of Queen's Coll. Camb. Preb. of Norw.: deprived under Q. Eliz.
1559. Edward Gascoine, LL.D. Mast. of Jes. Coll. Camb. Chanc. of Ely.
1563. John May, D.D. Mast. of Cath. Hall, Camb. Bp. of Carlisle.
1582. Edmund Barwell, D.D. Mast. of Christ Coll. Camb.
1609. John Duport, D.D. Mast. of Jes. Coll. Camb. Prec. of St. Paul's; a translator of the Bible.
1617. Samuel Collins, D.D. Prov. of King's Coll. Camb. Reg. Prof. of Div.: ejected in gr. rebellion.
1646. Joseph Beaumont, D.D. Mast. of Jes. and of St. Pet.'s Colls. Camb.; not installed till 1660.
1665. Richard Ball, D.D. Mast. of the Temple, Preb. of Linc.
1684. John Nalson, LL.D.
1686. Thomas Turner, D.D. Archd. of Essex. Pres. of Corp. Christi Coll. Oxf.
1714. Samuel Knight, D.D. Archd. of Berks. Preb. of Linc.
1746. Eyton Butts, M.A. Chanc. of Leighlin, Dean of Cloyne.
1754. Barnard Garnett, D.D.
1768. John Warren, D.D. Bp. of St. David's and of Bangor.
1779. George Downing, M.A. present Prebendary.

PREBENDARIES OF THE EIGHTH STALL:

1541. John Ward, late Sacrist of Ely.
1548. Edward Leeds, LL.D. Mast. of Clare Hall, Camb. Prec. of Litch.
1587. James Taylor, D.D.
1623. John Cropley, D.D.
1629. William Eyre, B.D.
1642. John Buckeridge, M.A.

A. D.	
1651.	Richard Ball, D.D. See Prebendaries of Seventh Stall.
1665.	Joseph Beaumont, D.D. See Prebendaries of Seventh Stall.
1699.	William Coldwell, M.A.
1702.	James Smith, D.D.
1715.	Stephen Weston, D.D. Bp. of Exeter.
1717.	William Powell, D.D. Dean of St. Asaph, Archd. of Chester.
1741.	John Price, D.D. Canon of St. Asaph.
1772.	Thomas Hopper, M.A.
1779.	Thomas Knowles, D.D.
1802.	George Leonard Jenyns, M.A. present Prebendary.

A SUMMARY

CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

ERECTION AND PRINCIPAL IMPROVEMENTS, AND REPARATIONS OF THE BUILDINGS.

A. D.	
673.	The Conventual Church begun, a monastery being then founded for monks and nuns by St. Etheldreda, who was first Abbess.
870.	It was burned and laid waste by the Danes, but shortly after repaired and occupied by a college of secular priests.
970.	It was thoroughly repaired under King Edgar, and made no less splendid than at first; and monks only placed in it under an Abbot.
1081.	The new Conventual Church (present Cathedral) was begun by Simeon, the ninth Abbot.
1093.	The work left unfinished at his death.
1100.	After seven years vacancy of the Abbey, the work was continued by Richard, the tenth Abbot.
1102.	The additional building at the east end of the old Conventual Church erected.

A. D.	
1106.	The east end of the present Cathedral Church, beginning at the third arch east of the transept, comprehending the two transepts, a tower at the intersection, and probably two arches of the Nave (for so far the old Choir extended), finished, covered, and consecrated.
1109.	The Abbey Church converted into a Cathedral. The first Bishop was Hervey, Bishop of Bangor.
1174.	The Nave finished.
1189.	The great Western Tower had been finished nearly to the first battlements.
1215.	The Galilee or Western Portico finished.
1252.	The church extended six arches further eastward, —the building called the Presbytery,—a spire erected on the tower.
1288.	The new Refectory of the Convent, now the Deanery, finished.
1321.	The new Lady Chapel, now Trinity Church, begun.
1322.	The old transept tower fell down, and destroyed three arches eastward. The Octagon begun.
1323.	The rebuilding of the three arches begun.
1328.	The stone-work of the Octagon finished. About the same time, Prior Crauden's Chapel and Hall and the new Sacristy erected.
1342.	The wood work and roof of the Octagon and Lantern finished. About the same time the stalls erected.
1349.	The Mary or Lady Chapel finished.
1362.	The Parish Church of St. Cross built.
1373.	Three windows on the south, and two on the north side of the Presbytery rebuilt in the newer style, to agree with the adjoining building.
1380.	The octagonal building and turrets erected on the tower.
1400.	The gate called Ely Porta finished.
1405.	The arches supporting the tower cased and strengthened.
1454.	This same work more effectually performed.
1460.	Two more windows erected on the north side of the Presbytery.
1488.	Bishop Alcock's Chapel built.
1534.	Bishop West's Chapel built.

A D	
1566.	The Lady Chapel given to Trinity parish, and the Church of St. Cross dilapidated.
1650.	The Cloisters taken down, and irreparable mischief done in various parts
1662	The north wall of the Nave repaired.
1699	The north-west angle of the north Transept fell down and was restored.
1748.	The spire ordered to be taken down, but the order not executed, in consequence of petition and remonstrance from the townsmen.
1762.	The wood-work of the Octagon and Lantern repaired.
1768.	The roof of the Presbytery repaired.
	The east end being two feet out of the perpendicular at the upper part, was restored.
1770.	The Choir removed into the Presbytery.
1801.	The Altar Piece put up.
1801.	The upper parts of the Tower repaired.
1802.	The roof of Trinity Church repaired.
	The outside of the Galilee restored and beautified.
	The inside of the Tower improved and beautified.
1806.	Trinity Church fitted up and beautified.
1807.	The window in the Tower above the Portico renewed and beautified with painted glass.

Interior Dimensions of the Conventual Church.

	Ft.	In.
The whole length from west to east, as far as the great arch	158	3
The Nave	105	0
The Screen between Nave and Chancel	3	7
The Chancel as far as the great arch	49	8
The breadth of the Nave, including the Side Aisles	41	0
The breadth of the Choir	39	6
The height of the Nave, from the floor to the roof	33	0
The height of the pillars in the Nave	10	0
Ditto in the Chancel	8	4

Interior Dimensions of the Cathedral Church.

	Ft.	In.
The whole length from west to east	517	0
The Galilee, or Western Portico	40	0
The western Tower	48	0
The Nave	203	0
Crossing the Octagon	71	6
The Ante-choir or Sermon Place	53	0
The Choir	101	0
The length of the Transept from north to south	178	6
Breadth of the Nave with the Side Aisles	73	6
Breadth of the Ante-choir or Sermon Place	76	6
Clear diameter of the Octagon, from one pillar to the opposite	65	4
Height of the pillars which support the Dome and Lantern	62	0
Perpendicular height of the Dome, springing from the capitals of the pillars, to the aperture of the Lantern	32	0
Height of the Lantern itself, from its aperture on the Dome to its vaulted roof	48	0
The clear diameter of the Lantern within	30	0
The whole height from the floor to the centre of the Lantern	142	0
Breadth of Choir from the backs of the stalls	34	2½
Height of the vaulted roof of the Choir	70	0
Length of St. Mary's Chapel (now Trinity Church) inside	100	0
Breadth of the same, within	46	0
Height of its vaulted roof, within	60	0

Exterior Dimensions of the same.

The whole length from west to east	535	0
The length of the Great Cross, or Transept, from north to south	190	0
Height of the western Tower before the Spire was taken down	270	0
Height of the four stone turrets of the western Tower	215	0
Height of the Lantern over the Dome	170	0
Height of the two towers of the south-west Transept	120	0
Height of the eastern Front to the top of the Cross	112	0
Height of the roof over the Nave	104	0

References to the Plan of the Church.

A. The Galilee or Portico.
B. D. The north and south-west Transepts.
C. The western Tower.
E. Remains of a Chapel.
F. The Nave.
G. H. I. The Great Cross, or Transept.
H. The Dome.
K. The Choir.
L. Bishop West's Chapel.
M. Bishop Alcock's Chapel.
N. The St. Mary, or Lady Chapel, now Trinity Church.
O. The Remains of the Cloisters.
P. The Font.
Q. The Muniment Room.
R.R. The Dean and Chapter's Vestries.
S. The Library.
T. T. Vestries.
V. The South Door.
X. The Prior's Entrance.
Z. Ovin's Cross.

FINIS.

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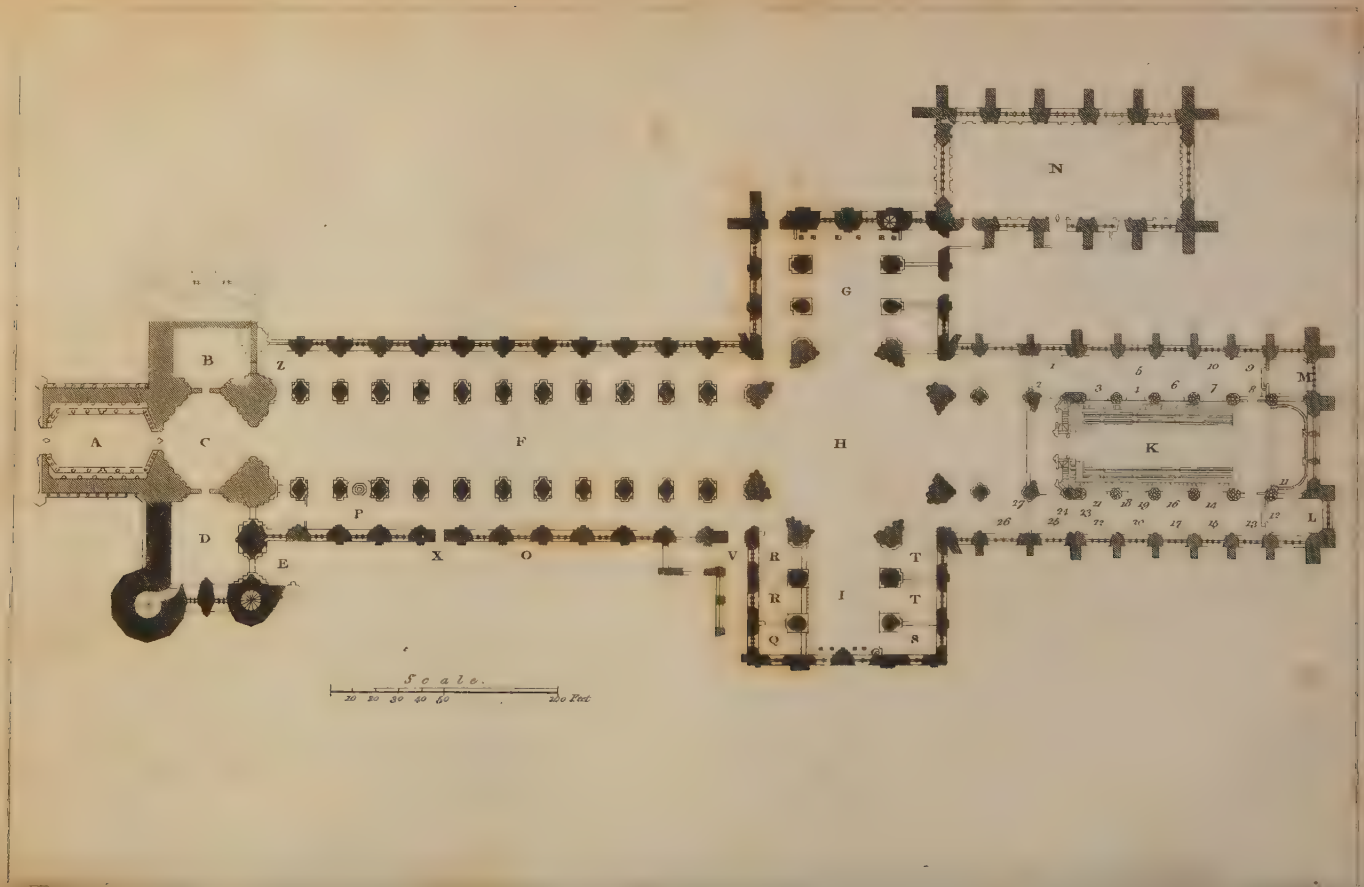
GROUND PLAN of the CATHEDRAL CHURCH of ELY.



Drawn by L Bond

Engraved by W Wagstaff

AN

HISTORICAL SURVEY

OF THE

ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES

OF

FRANCE,

&c.

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OF

FRANCE;

WITH A VIEW TO ILLUSTRATE

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE IN EUROPE.

BY

The late Rev. G. D. WHITTINGTON,

OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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PREFACE.

The following work is printed conformably to a desire expressed by the Author at his death: and his friends, in the execution of this duty, have proceeded under the conviction that it is far too valuable to be withheld from the press. Notwithstanding this favourable opinion, they are sensible that to the faults which may be inherent in the work itself, must be added those which are inseparable from publications of a posthumous nature; many such may possibly be discovered, which in the eye of candour will admit of extenuation. The unfinished state, however, of the following pages, and the premature death of their writer, appear to render necessary some prefatory information concerning both; in order that the proposed plan and objects of the work may be more clearly understood, and the qualifica-

tions possessed by the author for such an undertaking duly appreciated.

The History of the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France occupied, at intervals, the last four years of the author's life. The first project of such a work, originated in the course of an extensive journey made with me through France and Italy in the years 1802 and 1803, during which he examined with minute attention the chief remains of early christian buildings in those countries. His previous study and knowledge of Gothic architecture enabled him to do this with accuracy and effect: on his return to England in the summer of the last-mentioned year, he began to arrange and digest the materials which he had collected, and the observations which he had made during his journey abroad. His design, in its first conception, was limited to a refutation, from the history of existing monuments, of an hypothesis maintained by several writers and supported by the Society of Antiquaries,

that the style usually called Gothic, really originated in this island, and ought therefore in future to receive the denomination of English architecture. From the various and extensive information which he obtained in the course of his inquiries into this subject, it was thought more expedient so to change the plan of the work, as to make it comprise, in a history of the rise and progress of the style in France, a detailed account of the most remarkable Gothic edifices in that country, with the view likewise of illustrating its origin and first introduction into Europe. By this alteration, that which had formerly been the principal aim of the undertaking, became only incidental to its completion, and a more ample field was opened for a display of the industry and talents of the author.

This more extended project was divided into three parts, of which two only are finished, and now published; the first containing a review of the early christian build-

ings, and a general history of ecclesiastical architecture in France; and the second, a particular description of the edifices themselves. In these detached portions of the work, however incomplete they may be found, many new and interesting facts will be presented to the followers of architectural studies, and much general knowledge of these subjects will be obtained from their perusal. The religious structures of the first christians, with the changes attendant on the growing wealth and dignity of the hierarchy, are, I believe, for the first time presented to the English reader. In the course of a luminous view of the rise and progress of the Gothic style in France, many important dates are ascertained, and historical notices afforded respecting artists and their works, little known before, but highly necessary to a due illustration of the science. A comparison is instituted between the contemporary buildings of France and England, and their characteristic differences are pointed

out. The prior excellence of the French style is clearly shewn, and the hypothesis, which it was a main object of the essay to combat, is entirely disproved by the result.

The third division, of which unfortunately nothing remains, would have comprehended, amongst other matter of less import, 'An Inquiry into the Origin of Gothic Architecture.' The absence of this part is the more peculiarly to be regretted, as it would have led to the discussion of topics incomparably more interesting; and amidst the various and contradictory speculations entertained on the subject, it would have furnished an occasion requisite for the full exercise of that knowledge and accuracy of judgment which the author possessed. Notwithstanding this loss, I am, however, enabled to add his opinion, transcribed from another place, and which, although summarily given, entirely coincides with that which has always appeared to me, to be the supposition most consonant with reason and probability.

"In the twelfth century a new character of building suddenly appeared and spread itself over the greater part of Christendom. This has in latter times been called the Gothic style, out of a silly contempt, though it did not arise till long after the Goths were melted down and lost among the nations of Europe. It has not the most distant similarity either to Grecian or Roman architecture, and its origin has been the subject of much controversy. I am of opinion that it is of eastern extraction, and that it was imported by the Crusaders into the west. All eastern buildings as far back as they go (and we cannot tell how far,) have pointed arches and are in the same style; is it not fair to suppose that some of these are older than the twelfth century, or that the same style existed before that time? Is it at all probable that the dark ages of the west should have given a mode of architecture to the east? I conceive therefore that the Crusaders introduced the fashion of the pointed arch and

the first ornaments of the style, which are few, and simple; but the richness it gathered in process of time, and the improvements and alterations we observe in it from its first rise in the twelfth, to its extinction in the fifteenth century, are owing to the munificent encouragement of the church, and the vast abilities of the freemasons of the middle ages. These scientific persons have great claim to our admiration from the richness and fertility of their inventive powers; by them this eastern style was transplanted into the west, and under them it was so much altered and amplified, that it assumed almost an entirely new appearance, from which circumstance the confusion and uncertainty which prevails respecting its origin has for the most part arisen."

Without entering at any length into the discussion of this subject, or still less examining the various hypotheses by which the primary invention of Gothic architecture has been explained with more ingenuity than

apparent truth, a few observations tending to confirm the probability of the above statement respecting the mode of its introduction into the west, may perhaps be permitted.

Those who imagine with many writers that the style received its origin in Europe from the observation of the intermingled branches of lofty avenues,[a] the intersection of circular arches,[b] or who think with Mr. Walpole[c] that it arose solely from what was conceived to be an improvement in the corrupt specimens of Roman taste then exhibited, and was afterwards gradually carried to perfection, all seem to err in this; their views are confined to the form of the arch: if any plausible reason can be assigned for such a peculiarity, the difficulty is supposed to be overcome and no farther inquiry necessary. This however is not the case; the pointed arch is unquestionably one of the striking characteristics of Gothic architec-

[a] Warburton on Pope. [b] Milner Hist. of Winchest. Vol. 2.
[c] Anecdot. of Paint. c. v.

ture, but there are other component features equally indispensable to its formation. We may refer to the inherent ornaments of the style, however few and simple they may be, but above all, to the lofty and slender proportions so generally observed in the erection of these edifices.

That the species of building which we call Saxon, or Anglo-Norman, and of which this island possesses the most magnificent examples, was in fact intended as an imitation of Roman architecture, cannot be doubted: it is sufficiently proved by a close resemblance both in ornament and design to the structures of the later Emperors, which resemblance is especially to be remarked in works of this nature in Italy, where the models were more obviously presented to the attention of the artists.

If, therefore, we could discover in any one country a gradual alteration of this style, beginning with the form of the arch, and progressively extending to the whole of the orna-

ments and general design; after which, if we could trace the new fashion slowly making its way, and by degrees adopted by the other nations of Europe, the supposition of Mr. Walpole would be greatly confirmed. Nothing of this however is the case. We find the Gothic style, notwithstanding the richness and variety it afterwards assumed, appearing at once with all its distinctive marks and features: not among one people, but very nearly at the same period of time, received and practised throughout Christendom. How will it be possible to account for this general and contemporary adoption of the style but by a supposition that the taste and knowledge of all on this subject were drawn from a common source: and where can we look for this source but to the east, which during the Crusades, attracted a portion of the population, and in a great degree occupied the attention of the different states of Europe?[a] This result receives con-

[a] Sir Christopher Wren has in a great measure adopted this

firmation from the circumstance of there being no specimen of Gothic architecture erected in the west before the period in question. Nevertheless in the statement of this fact it is necessary to except the occurrence, however rare, of pointed arches the date of whose construction may perhaps be placed higher than the twelfth century. Such instances indeed are mentioned in the course of the following work, and the cause of their existence will be there satisfactorily explained. It may be sufficient here to observe, that no people versed in the science of architecture could long remain ignorant of the pointed form of the arch, the most simple and easy in construction, as it might be raised without a centre by the gradual projection of stones placed in horizontal courses, and whether produced by accident or necessity, we may reasonably expect to meet with it occasionally in their works. Accord-

opinion, although he appears chiefly to ascribe the origin of the style to the Moors of Spain. Parentalia.

ingly it is proved from actual remains, that the antients were by no means unacquainted with this mode of building, although it was neglected by them in their general practice. The insulated appearance of an arch merely pointed, without the addition of any other characteristic of the style, is not a better argument for the prevalence of Gothic architecture, than if we should affirm, from the Corinthian capitals which are sometimes to be found in the Gothic cathedrals, that these merited the appellation of classical structures.

[a]It has been repeatedly asked in what part of the east we are able to discover buildings constructed in the style alluded to, and of a date anterior to the erection of those in the west? It is certainly not so easy to answer this demand as the preceding observations would seem to warrant; at the same time, a little attention will explain the

[a] Bentham's Hist. of Ely Cath. § 5. Grose's Antiquit. of England. Pref.

cause of hesitation, and I think lead us to a satisfactory conclusion.

I. It is impossible that the scantiness of authentic record of particulars relating to these subjects amongst oriental nations, should not be felt by all, and the difficulty of attaining to a knowledge of such as may exist, by most of those who engage in this or any similar inquiry.

II. It is to be remarked, that so frequent and destructive have been the wars and revolutions of the east, as but too often to entail the same fate on works of art and utility which attended the princes and chiefs of the states subverted. This must of necessity greatly diminish the number of architectural specimens, especially those of early date.

III. We may observe, that the people of the east with whom we are best acquainted, sacrificed, in a considerable degree, their peculiar and less durable mode of building, to that which they found adopted and established by the Greeks. Thus, after the con-

quest of Constantinople, every mosque was constructed in imitation of the church of Santa Sophia: and the massive pile of Justinian, with the addition of their own lofty and slender minarets, has served as a model in the exercise of the piety and magnificence of each succeeding Sultan. Before the conquest of the metropolis the same practice seems to have been prevalent; and in their previous acquisition of many cities of the empire, the Christian edifices were converted to the purposes of Mahommedan worship.—Notwithstanding the operation of these and other causes which contribute to form the chief impediment to the possession of full information respecting the early state of architecture in the east, there appear still to exist facts abundantly sufficient to render the notion here contended for highly probable in the eyes of those who are content to view it without the medium of prejudice or established system.

If a line be drawn from the north of the Euxine, through Constantinople to Ægypt,

we shall discover in every country to the eastward of this boundary frequent examples of the pointed arch, accompanied with the slender proportions of Gothic architecture. In Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, Persia; from the neighbourhood of the Caspian, through the wilds of Tartary; in the various kingdoms, and throughout the whole extent of India, and even to the furthest limits of China: it is true, that we are unable for the most part to ascertain the precise dates of these buildings; but this in reality is not very important, it being sufficient to state the fact of their comparative antiquity: which joined to the vast diffusion of the style, appears adequate to justify our conclusion. Seeing then the universal prevalence of this mode in the east, which is satisfactorily accounted for by the extensive revolutions and conquests effected by eastern warriors in that part of the world, it can scarcely appear requisite to discuss the probability of its having been introduced from

the west, or still less, further to refute the notions of those who refer the origin of the style to the invention of English artists. Had it been adopted from the practice of the west, such a peculiarity of taste and knowledge must have been imparted by some general communication: this has only occurred at one period, during which no building of the species in question existed in Europe. The inhabitants of the west could not convey a knowledge which they did not possess; but as it became pretty general amongst them shortly after the epoch alluded to, it is reasonable to infer that they acquired it from those nations whom they are said to have instructed.

On the whole, it is probable that the origin of the Gothic style, notwithstanding the occasional imitation of a corrupt and degraded species of Roman architecture, is sufficiently indicated by the lofty and slender proportions, by the minute parts, and the fantastic ornaments of Oriental taste.

Having given a summary of the work, and pointed out the different objects embraced in its design, something yet remains to be added respecting the author. However strong may be the temptation to dwell on the execution of this part of my duty, it cannot be desirable long to detain the reader by a recital of virtues unknown, and of talents unexercised in public; or to expatiate on the life of an individual, concerning whom no general interest has been excited by exalted station or distinguished actions. Private worth can but claim private acknowledgement; and after all, the testimony of a friend to such a character, will be regarded at least with suspicion. Yet it is not unfit that all who peruse the following pages in their present state, should be aware of the extent to which their writer was calculated to engage in such a pursuit, and to perform the task which he had prescribed to himself.

The author of this Historical Survey died on the 24th of July, 1807, at the age of twenty-six years. Educated at Eton, he

there acquired a love of classical literature, and a distinguished correctness of taste, which tempered his keen relish for all the works of imagination. During a subsequent residence at Cambridge, without deeply engaging in the studies peculiar to the place, the advances which he made in different branches of learning were rapid and extensive. To the following work, therefore, he brought a cultivated mind, confirmed habits of industry, a most retentive memory, and a freedom from prejudice and pre-established opinion all his own. Before the publication of this survey nothing has appeared with the sanction of his name, excepting only a prize essay on the internal evidences of Christianity, written while an under graduate at the University. This little composition is to be admired for that display of good sense, moderation, and liberality of sentiment, which seldom fails to confer on works of this description the charm of truth.

These productions may perhaps seem insufficient to justify what has already been

said of the extent of his mental powers; had his life, however, been spared, there is no doubt that his industry would shortly have enabled him to accomplish those literary undertakings of general interest and importance, which he had for some time meditated.

To affirm generally that his talents and acquirements were equal to his virtues, would be to place them on a scale of excellence, to which even party zeal and private friendship have scarcely ventured to raise those of any individual; the persons, however, who were best acquainted with the native modesty and candour of his mind, will be the best enabled to appreciate their variety and extent.

Although his virtues might defy even the exaggerations of friendship, I shall proceed no further in their enumeration. For those who are alike indifferent as to the author or his character, too much may already have been said: and by all who knew both intimately, that which might here be added

would probably be found insufficient to express a just sense of his excellence.

> Quo nunquam pietas nisi rara, fidesque
> Altus amor veri, et purum spirabat honestum.

Respecting the fate of the following pages, I entertain no apprehension. The subject is not in itself very generally interesting, nor, from the accurate and detailed manner in which it is treated, can we reasonably expect that it should be rendered more popular: but to all who have made Gothic architecture an object of attention and inquiry, this work cannot but prove acceptable, from the curious and authentic information which it contains, and from the manner in which it is afforded. From all such readers, notwithstanding the state in which it is unavoidably presented to the public, we may confidently anticipate an acknowledgement of its being highly creditable to the industry, the acuteness, and the candour of its Author.

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CHAP. VII.

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AN

HISTORICAL SURVEY,

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

THE CHURCHES OF CONSTANTINE.

Decay of the Roman Arts—Palace of Dioclesian—Form of the ancient Basilicæ—Conjecture respecting the Church of Sta. Croce—The Introduction of Transepts—Shape and Distribution of the first Christian Churches—degraded State of Architecture.

It has been remarked that the more we examine the edifices which remain of ancient Rome, and compare them with the testimonies of historians, the more we shall be confirmed in this general reflection, that the national taste followed the progress of national manners, and became successively grand, magnificent, gaudy, and barbarous.[a]

[a] Barthelemy Mem. sur les Anc. Monumens de Rome. Ap. Voy. en Italie.—No. IX. p. 349.

A very little inquiry will render the truth of this observation sufficiently apparent. The flourishing æra of Roman architecture has been commonly allowed to extend from the accession of Augustus to the age of Hadrian and the Antonines; but in its progress during that period, the simplicity of its Grecian original was gradually corrupted by an increased love of ornament, and its decline immediately afterwards was still more visible and rapid. The palace of Dioclesian, at Spalatro, affords a striking proof of the debasement of the art at the end of the third century:[a] indeed in many parts of that vast and costly structure are to be discovered the first traces of that barbarous style of building which is now known to us by the names of Lombard and Saxon.[b]

The establishment of Christianity by Constantine, was followed by the foundation of churches in all the provinces of the

[a] Fortis Viaggio in Dalmazia, p. 40.—Gibbon Hist. I. xiii. 391.

[b] Appendix A.

empire, which occasioned a wide diffusion of the mode of architecture at that time prevalent at Rome; but we must lament that previous to this event, the taste as well as skill of the Romans, had undergone a further deterioration, and the disorders which produced this change still continuing to affect society, we shall observe in the buildings of Italy, during the six succeeding centuries, increased marks of rudeness and ignorance.

Constantine founded several churches at Rome, Byzantium, and in other places, but we are unable to refer to any perfect example of the manner of building practised in his reign, as most of them have been rebuilt, and the rest entirely altered. It is certain, however, from the descriptions of them, that they were constructed on the model of the Roman Basilicæ,[a] which were particularly calculated to receive great crowds of people; and it is probable that some of

[a] There were, according to Victor, nineteen Basilicæ at Rome which were used as Courts of Justice and Exchanges of Merchants.

these buildings were devoted by him and his successors to the purposes of Christian worship.[a]

A conjecture has been entertained, from an accurate inspection made towards the close of the seventeenth century, of the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome, the only specimen remaining of the architecture of Constantine, that the Basilicæ which that emperor erected for the Christians, like the buildings from which they were copied, were open at the sides.[b]

The ancient walls of the church of Sta. Croce at that time consisted of two ranges of wide arches, one over the other, which at a subsequent period had been filled up with materials different from the original structure.[c] Each of the apertures of the upper range, which served as windows, were divided by a slender marble pillar into two smaller arches.[d] It must be remarked that the de-

[a] Appendix B. [b] Appendix C. [c] Appendix D.

[d] Antea diximus quinas fenestras in singulis lateribus obtinere, latas palm. 20. altas 40. harum unica tamen hodie priscam

scriptions of Constantine's churches represent them as being particularly light;[a] we know also that the Basilicæ, from which they were copied, had open porticoes on each side; it may not therefore be improbable that some of the first Christian churches had open arcades, and were similar to their models in this respect, as well as in shape. But if such an arrangement ever did exist, it did not long continue; the church of St. Paul without the walls of Rome, was built in its present form under Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius,[b] at the end of the fourth century: it is entirely enclosed with walls, the windows are small, and the disposition of the ground plan alone, (with the exception of the transept which was introduced at this period,[c]) is borrowed from the ancient Basilicæ.

retinet amplitudinem et a columna marmorea bifariam dividitur. Vet. Mon. cix. p. 76. a Roman Palm contains $10\frac{3}{5}$ inches.

[a] Eusebius. Hist. lib. x. c. 4.

[b] See their Letter to Sallustius, præfect of Rome. Ciampini de Sac. Æd. c. v. p. 110. also Vet. mon. c. 1. p. 10 & cxxiv.

[c] Appendix E.

New churches were founded at Rome and Ravenna, and many of those erected by Constantine, rebuilt during the fifth century; they are all constructed on the same plan,[a] and are equally remarkable for deficiency of taste and meanness of execution. The Senate of Rome had given the first example of plundering ancient monuments to adorn the arch which they erected in honour of Constantine;[b] the early Christians zealously pursued the same practice, and every where despoiled the temples and mausoleums of their ancestors. The edifices of Rome were considered as a vast and various mine, the metals were purified and re-cast, the marbles were hewn and polished:[c] columns and ornaments were thus readily procured, but taste was wanted to arrange them: the art of sculpture fell into disuse, and was succeeded by a rude skill in mosaic work; and the science of architecture was reduced for several

[a] Appendix F.

[b] Ciampini Vet. Mon. c. ii. p. 13. Gibbon, I. xiv. 430.

[c] Gibbon, VI. lxxi. 629. See also 631.

ages to building walls, composed of incongruous heaps of ancient materials, constructing heavy timber roofs, and forming arches without any regard either to symmetry or proportion.

The first churches of the other Christian countries of Europe were imitated from this debased Roman style; it is necessary therefore for us to understand in the first place the form and arrangement of the religious structures of Constantine and his successors of the fourth and fifth centuries, before we pursue our inquiry into the early history of the architecture of France. Several ancient fabrics still remain at Rome to illustrate this subject, amongst which St. Paul's may be selected as the best specimen of the mode of building, and St. Clement's of the internal disposition of the first Christian churches.[a]

[a] Ciampini Vet. Mon. c. i. 11. c. ii. 13. et seq.

CHAP. II.

THE CHURCHES OF THE GAULS.

The Assemblies of the Christians—Churches of the third Century—Roman Churches of Constantine imitated—Remains of Paganism.

THE Christian religion appears to have been introduced into Gaul in the course of the second century,[a] about which time several small assemblies of Christians were established in the southern provinces, and Lyons even at that early period could rank among its bishops Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, one of the most celebrated writers of his age; but the new faith had still to contend with the power of the state as well as the rudeness of the people, and it consequently made but a slow progress. In the third century seven bishops were sent from Rome to extend its influence in the districts of Tours, Orleans, Thoulouse, Narbonne, Paris, Li-

[a] Appendix G.

moges, and Auvergne;[a] yet, notwithstanding the success which is said to have attended their preaching, and the zeal of their disciples, we find that the churches or meetings of the Christians were chiefly held in the houses of the more opulent converts.[b] It should seem, however, that edifices were erected in some places expressly for the purposes of Christian worship, for we read that when Crocus, king of the Alamanni, made an irruption into Gaul about the middle of the third century, he destroyed at Auvergne, a church built with the utmost solidity, which was covered with a leaden roof, and ornamented internally with marbles, mosaics, and a marble pavement:[c] but as this account is given by an historian who lived three centuries after its destruction, it may perhaps be justly suspected of exaggeration, and the description may have been rather taken from the manner of building which prevailed in his own time.

[a] Gregorii Episc. Turon. Hist. France, I. 28.

[b] Appendix H. [c] Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. I. 30.

It is probable, however, that the Christians had already begun to erect edifices expressly for ecclesiastical purposes;[a] and many of them are said to have been destroyed during the persecution of Dioclesian.[b] The form of these structures cannot now be exactly ascertained; although inferior in extent and splendour, perhaps they were not much unlike in shape and arrangement to the religious buildings of the following century. Each is described as containing the church and a lodging for the [c] officiating priest.

The conversion of Constantine in the fourth century produced a new æra in the religious edifices of the Christians. A church was erected by that emperor at Auvergne, in a stile of considerable magnificence;[d] and from this time the Gaulish churches were built after the plan which had already been

[a] Appendix I. [b] Appendix K.

[c] Domus Ecclesiæ Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. I. 39. and other places—ipsi sacerdoti in ipso, quod modo salutatorium dicitur, mansio erat II. 21.

[d] Greg. Tur. de Gloria Martyrum I. 9. The columns of this church were of a great size.

adopted at Rome and in the rest of Italy. St. Martin of Tours, raised a church in that city in honour of St. Peter and Paul, and having destroyed the Pagan temples in several villages, he baptized the inhabitants and erected churches.[a] Briccius and Eustochius, his successors, were actuated by the same zeal, and built several in Tours and its neighbourhood;[b] but the Christians as yet were not very numerous nor opulent, and their churches appear to have been, in general, constructed on a small scale.[c]

In the fifth century the Roman manner of building seems to have been practised in Gaul with considerable splendour. Gregory of Tours relates that *Perpetuus*, Bishop of Tours, in the reign of Childeric, thinking the small church which Briccius had erected over the tomb of St. Martin, unworthy of so distinguished a saint, rebuilt it in the form in which it remained in his time; his descrip-

[a] Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. X. 31. [b] Ib. ib.

[c] Briccius ædificavit ecclesiam *parvulam* super corpus beati Martini. ib. ib.

tion of it therefore is curious and authentic. It was one hundred and fifty-five feet in length, sixty in breadth, and forty-five in height. In the whole edifice there were fifty-two windows, one hundred and twenty columns, and eight doors, namely, three in the sanctuary, and five in the body of the church.[a] The same prelate also rebuilt the church of St. Peter and Paul, in which he deposited the marble shrine which had formerly enclosed the relics of St. Martin, and which was greatly admired for the beauty of its workmanship.[b] He besides constructed several churches in the city and neighbourhood of Tours.[c] *Eufronius*, a priest of the same place, erected the church of St. Symphorien:[d] and about this time *Namatius*, bishop of Auvergne, seems to have rivalled, and even surpassed Perpetuus, by the magnificent manner in which he rebuilt his cathedral. It was constructed in the form of a cross, with aisles[e]

[a] Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II. 14. [b] Ib.—ib.
[c] Ib.—X. 31. [d] Ib.—II. 15. [e] Ascellæ.

on each side, and terminated by a round apsis; the walls of the sanctuary were encrusted with various marbles, and the whole church was perfumed with aromatic odours.[a] His wife also founded a church in honour of St. Stephen, and is related to have sat with a book in her hand reading ancient histories to the painters while they were ornamenting its walls.[b]

Churches were very generally established in the villages of the southern districts of Gaul during the fifth century; and idolatry, which had till then retained its influence in many places, began finally to disappear.[c] In the north Christianity made a slow and dif-

[a] Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. II. 16. This church appears to have been constructed entirely under the direction of the bishop. Ecclesiam *suo studio* fabricavit, is the expression of the historian, which is similar to the phrase often used by old English writers, to build by his counsaille. The fabric was one hundred and fifty feet long, sixty wide, and fifty high; it contained forty-two windows, seventy columns, and eight doors.

[b] Ib.—II. 17.

[c] Many remains of Paganism existed in the south at the beginning of the fifth century. See a curious dissertation, sur le Cervulus & Vetula, by the Abbe Lebeuf. Recueil, Tom. I. 282. 300.

the principal parts and general arrangement of a church in primitive times, according to the best ecclesiastical antiquaries[n], as far as these were common to the Greeks and the Latins, and to the different forms of the sacred edifices: for some of the churches were built circular or octangular, others in the shape of a cross: still the general form of them was oblong, with a semicircular apsis at the eastern end; and the disposition of the sanctuary, the altar, and the narthex, or penitentiary porch, at least, was the same in all churches.[o]

As a general outside view of an ancient Roman church, we have copied the Mosaic picture of the Church of St. Agnes, which

[n] Montfaucon. Diar. Italic. Le Brun. Liturg. T. 2. Allatius, &c.

[o] See PLATE I. *fig.* IV. Plan of the Church of the Holy Cross, from Ciampini's Vet. Mon. T. 1. pl. iv. compared with those of St. Clement and other churches described by the abovementioned ecclesiastical antiquaries. A A The Apsis forming the Presbytery. B The Bishop's Throne with Stalls for the Clergy. C C The Sanctuary or Chancel. D The Altar. E The Gradus or steps. F F The Nave. G The Ambo or Pulpit. H The Tribune for Women. I The Tribune for Men. K The Narthex or Penitent's Porch. L The Door.

is proved to have been executed by order of Pope Honorius, about the year 621[p]. The Pope is here represented in his dalmatic and pallium, bearing in his hands the present representation of the church of St. Agnes, which was built by Constantine the Great, at the beginning of the fourth century, and repaired as we have said by Honorius early in the seventh. We here see a porch or cloister surrounding the church, and closed up except at the west end, where the entrance into the narthex is barely covered with a curtain, as was the custom in that age, with respect to the first entrance into palaces as well as churches. The porch at the east end sweeps round to form the circular apsis. The windows of the nave are small and round headed, while those of the porches or aisles are square, and the whole sacred structure, which is of the oblong form, is destitute of ornaments.

[p] This is expressed in the inscription under the picture executed in the same Mosaic work. See *fig.* V.

death, Childebert, one of his sons and successors, built in the neighbourhood of Paris the church and abbey of St. Vincent, afterwards called St. Germain des Prez; and Clothaire I, the brother of Childebert, began the church of St. Medard, at Soissons,[a] which was finished by his son Sigibert.[b] Hardly any remains of the buildings of this age have reached our times, though it has been conjectured that the ancient tower of St. Germain des Prez, and that of St. Pere at Chartres, are part of the works which we have just mentioned.

The monks of succeeding times, and even those who were contemporary, have been guilty of considerable exaggerations in their descriptions of the churches of this period; but though small in size, and barbarous in taste, they were frequently built with great solidity, and at a considerable expence: like the religious edifices of the preceding cen-

[a] Recueil Hist. de la vie & des Ouvrages des plus celebres architectes par J. F. Felibien, liv. III. 144.

[b] Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. IV. 19.

tury, from which they were generally copied, they continued to exhibit, on a contracted scale, the form of the Roman churches of Constantine and his successors; their shape was oblong, with a semicircular termination at the eastern extremity; and occasionally, but perhaps rarely, it assumed the figure of a cross; the roof was supported by internal porticoes of stone and marble columns, and externally covered with lead, or, in some instances, with gilt tiles.[a] The sanctuary and the coved ceiling of the apsis were encrusted with marbles and mosaic work, and a similar decoration was sometimes given to the western front. The walls were not unfrequently embellished, and the sculpture relieved by painting: the windows, which were often glazed,[b] were narrow and round-headed, like those of the contemporary churches of Italy; and the pediment of the western front was gene-

[a] Appendix M.

[b] Gregory of Tours mentions some thieves having entered the church of St. Martin, by breaking the glass of one of the windows—effractâ vitreâ sunt ingressi. Hist. Franc. VI. 10.

rally perforated with a circular aperture, a simple ornament, which was afterwards expanded into the beautiful rose windows, so much admired in the cathedrals of later times.

It has been doubted[a] whether at this early period there were professed architects in France, and it must be confessed that the state of the country is not much in favour of such a supposition: the inhabitants of the towns, as well as the peasants attached to the soil, when not engaged in the perpetual contests of their feudal masters, were consigned to the most menial employments, and deprived of the commonest rights of humanity; the barons were uncivilized and ferocious; commerce had not yet begun to raise the lower orders in the scale of society, and the arts had made little progress among the higher ranks:[b] the clergy were the depositaries of

[a] Felibien, Arch. III. 145.

[b] The wretched picture which Gibbon has drawn of the state of the peasants of Gaul under Dioclesian and Maximilian in the third, is applicable to their descendants of the sixth century,

the feeble remains of knowledge, and the only persons capable of attending to pursuits which depended upon leisure and science; and it was chiefly through their exertions that the art of building was revived in France and the northern countries in Europe.

The ancient writers often mention instances of an abbot giving a plan, which his convent assisted in carrying into execution. In succeeding times the most difficult works in Mosaic, carving, smelting, and painting, were frequently executed by ecclesiastics,[a] and when we find the cloister the abode of the arts in later times, we may be certain that the more remote the antiquity, the more this was likely to be the case. The edifices of religion owed their first existence to the zeal of the clergy, the more enlightened prelates invented, or procured the plans, and

with even perhaps darker colours; no event had occurred to improve their condition: on the contrary, they had passed from the dominion of the more civilized Romans into that of the rude and savage Franks. Gibbon, Hist. I. 361.

[a] Appendix N.

carried them into execution by their own assiduity: skill would naturally follow endeavours thus repeated and thus encouraged, and when proper models had been introduced, the imitations of them would become easy and frequent. But although from record, as well as probability, we may conclude that the arts in this age were principally cultivated by the clergy, it is no less certain that there were persons who practised them as a profession:[a] what that powerful order found necessary to promote by their own exertions, they did not fail to patronise in others, and to the common masons and carpenters who might be found in the different cities of France, persons of superior skill and intelligence were added, who were in-

[a] Felibien seems to think that France, at this time, contained no artists superior to the common masons, who, he says, "knew little more than to mix the mortar and prepare the materials," iii. 146. The bishop of Tours, however, speaks of his artificers in terms which might be used by a prelate of a much later and more civilized period.—Basilicas adustas incendio reperi, quas in illo nitore vel pingi vel exornari ut prius fuerant *artificum nostrorum opere imperavi;* he afterwards says, Baptisterium edificari *præcepi.* Hist. Franc. x. 31.

vited from distant quarters by the enterprising liberality of the bishops. The superstition of the times, and the authority of the church, secured them employment and protection; they gradually increased in numbers, and improved in science, till at length at a subsequent period they produced the most able artificers from among themselves. France, in fact, at this time was not without professional artists, but they seem to have been neither numerous or eminent; and the clergy were frequently left to their own exertions and resources. Gregory of Tours speaks of several of his predecessors as if they had superintended the building of their churches, particularly *Ommatius*, who rebuilt the church of St. Gervase and Protasius, and began that of St. Mary;[a] and he expressly affirms that *Leo*, bishop of Tours, was an artist of great

[a] Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. x. 31. As in many places in his Catalogue of Bishops, he says, hujus tempore Ecclesia—edificata est, when he writes ipse construxit, ipse exaltavit, it seems probable that he means to denote that the prelate of whom he is writing, was himself the architect of the work.

skill, particularly in works of carpentry, and that he built towers which he covered with gilt bronze,[a] some of which had lasted till his time.[b] One general spirit indeed seems to have prevailed among the French bishops of the sixth century to establish new churches, and improve the towns of their dioceses. *St. Germain*, bishop of Paris, is reported to have given the design for the church which Childebert founded near that city in honour of St. Vincent, and he was also sent to Angers by the same monarch to construct a church there, dedicated to St. Germain, Bishop of Auxerre. He afterwards erected a monastery near Mans, and other buildings of the same nature in different places.[c] We have before mentioned *Eufronius*, a priest of Tours, being appointed a bishop of that city; he repaired two churches which had been destroyed by fire in 564, and afterwards rebuilt the cathedral, on which the munificence of Clothaire

[a] Turres *holochryso* tectas.

[b] Hist. Franc. III. 17. X. 31.

[c] Felibien Arch.

the son of Clovis, enabled him to place a covering of tin, or pewter.[a] *Avitus*, bishop of Clermont in Auvergne, erected the church of Nostre Dame du Port, the church of St. Genes de Thier, and repaired that of St. Anatolien.[b] The church of St. Martin at Brie, a building of considerable magnificence, which was supported by marble columns, and the sanctuary adorned with marble, having been burnt, was rebuilt about this time by Ferrol, bishop of Limoges, but it appears uncertain whether he performed the office of architect on this occasion.[c] *Dalmatius*, bishop of Rhodez, studied the science of architecture, and began several times to rebuild his cathedral, but being disappointed in the effect of his plans, he died without completing it.[d] *Agricola*, bishop of Chalons

[a] Stanno. Hist. Franc. X. 31. As Gregory of Tours, on other occasions, when he mentions the covering of churches, makes use of plumbum, this must signify a metal, or composition of a different nature.

[b] Felibien Arch. [c] Hist. Franc. VII. 10.

[d] Ecclesiam construxit, sed dum eam ad emendationem sæpius destruxit, in compositam derelinquit. Hist. Franc. V. 47.

sur Saône, took upon himself to direct the building of several churches and other edifices, particularly his cathedral, which he ornamented with columns, and encrusted with mosaic and marble.[a] Gregory, bishop of Tours, though he does not appear to have been an architect himself, caused the church of St. Martin, and the other churches of Perpetuus, to be rebuilt in a more splendid manner,[b] and established several other in his diocese.

The three last prelates flourished at the time that France was governed by Chilperic I, Childebert II, and Guntran, who reigned in Neustria, Austrasia, and Burgundy. These princes protected the arts and founded a number of churches, among which we may mention that which was built by order of Guntran, at Chalons sur Saône, in honour of St. Marcel, and another dedicated to St.

[a] Multa in civitate illa ædificia fecit, domos composuit: ecclesiam fabricavit quam columnis fulcivit, variavit marmore, musivo depinxit. Ib. V. 46.

[b] Ib. X. 31.

Lucien, which was erected by Childebert, near Beauvais. The works of Chilperic are most remarkable: he founded a circus for public shows at Paris, and another at Soissons.[a]

The science of architecture continued, in some measure, to improve during the *seventh century:* Clothaire II, in 613, united in his own person the various sovereignties into which France was divided; an event which, as it produced internal tranquillity, was highly favourable to the cultivation of the arts. It was about this time that *St. Eloy* rose into notice, whose skill as well as holiness, have acquired him the greatest celebrity.[b] Having been brought to court to make a saddle for the king, his extraordinary talents soon made him an object of royal favour, and after exercising the employments of goldsmith and architect during the reigns of Dagobert and

[a] Felibien Arch.

[b] Aurifex peritissimus atque in *omni arte fabricandi* doctissimus—Audoen: Vita S. Eligii Episc. Noviomensis, Lib. I. c. v. apud Spicileg. T. V.

Clovis II, he embraced the ecclesiastical profession, and was appointed bishop of Noyon by Clothaire III. St. Ouën has given a pleasing description of the monastery which he erected at Solognac, near Limoges; he also built a convent for nuns, and the churches of St. Paul and St. Martial at Paris; both of which were covered with lead: and his biographer mentions that he was paid for his trouble. When he became bishop of Noyon, he constructed a house for nuns in that city, and several monasteries in other parts of his diocese, some of which were executed by his pupils under his direction. Though he seems to have ranked high as an architect, he is chiefly celebrated for the magnificent shrines of gold, silver, and precious stones, which he constructed in different churches, particularly those of St. Denis and St. Martin of Tours, which procured him the greatest reputation. He died in 663.[a]

The greatest work of this century was the

[a] Ib.—lib. I. cap. v. xv. xvii. xviii. xxxii. II. v.

building the church of St. Denis by Dagobert, the son and successor of Clothaire, which is said to have exceeded in size and decoration all the religious structures of the preceding age. Other works were carried on by order of this monarch, among which, the tower of Strasbourg deserves to be mentioned; it was principally composed of wood, and was begun, it is said, by Clovis in 510, but, according to the archives of the cathedral, it was not finished until 643.[a] We can meet with no further record of any considerable buildings, or of the names of the architects who flourished under Dagobert, and the later monarchs of the first race; it is probable, however, that they continued to be chiefly ecclesiastics. St. Eloy, however, properly belonged to the class of professional artists; and we may learn from his history that persons of that description were magnificently patronized, and held in high estimation.

[a] Felib. Arch. III. 159.—IV. 232.

In the *eighth century* Pepin began to rebuild the abbey church of St. Denis, which was completed by his son Charlemagne, and consecrated in 775.[a] A part of this ancient edifice is still remaining, namely, the vault, or crypt, under the eastern end of the present church, which before the revolution was used as the burial place of the Bourbons. It is built in a strong, but heavy manner, and with great rudeness of execution; a capital, however, of one of the columns should be noticed, as it affords an illustration of the architecture of the times. This piece of sculpture exhibits the section of a church, in which a priest, assisted by some others, is performing his devotions before an altar, which is covered with a cloth. It is divided by a range of columns which support round

[a] Felibien Hist. St. Denis, c. ii. 10.—Organs were introduced into some of the churches of France about this time; the first which was seen in that country was sent from Constantinople as a present to Pepin.—Burney, Hist. Mus. II. c. 2. St. Dunstan appears to have been the constructor of one of the first organs in England, in the tenth century.—Wil. Malmesb. de Pont. Anglor. lib. V.

arches; the artist has contrived in the same piece to shew the west front of the building, which is flanked by two towers, a little higher than the church, full of small round-headed windows like the Lombard towers at Rome, and finished, like them, with low roofs. The space between the towers is occupied by another window in the same style, but of larger dimensions.[a] The great entrance of the present church of St. Denis, which is round-arched, and of high antiquity, is also asserted to be a remnant of the structure of Pepin and Charlemagne.[b]

The mode and taste in building during the seventh and eighth continued the same as in the preceding century, though the features were somewhat enlarged and enriched; and it appears that in the course of the eighth century stone towers and belfries became common appendages to the churches of France.

[a] A representation of this curious capital is given in le Musée des Monumens Fran. par. Alex. Lenoir, Tom. I. pl. 39.

[b] Felibien Hist. St. Denis, c. ii.

CHAP. IV.

PROGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE.

From Charlemagne to Robert the Pious—Buildings at Aix-la-Chapelle—State of Architecture in Italy—Other Works of Charlemagne—Buildings of Louis le debonnaire—Incursions of the Normans—Distracted State of France—Expectation of the End of the World.

The character of Charlemagne produced an æra in the arts as well as in the empire of France. Uniting to a disposition singularly active, resolute, and enterprising, a mind of superior intelligence, and filled with the loftiest views, he desired to emulate the greatest of the Cæsars, not only in his camp, but in the splendour and refinement of his court: he considered the advancement of literature and the arts as essential to the glory of his reign, as the triumphs of his arms; and the power and wealth which he had acquired in war were wisely applied to the encouragement of the arts of peace. At

Rome his attention had been struck, and his admiration excited, by the magnificent remains of more civilized ages; he enabled the popes Adrian I and Leo III to repair the walls and aqueducts, and assisted by large contributions the restoration of many of the churches.[a] "If Charlemagne," says Mr. Gibbon, "had fixed in Italy the seat of the western empire, his genius would have aspired to restore, rather than violate, the works of the Cæsars; but as policy confined the French monarch to the forests of Germany; his taste could be gratified only by destruction, and the new palace (and church) of Aix-la-Chapelle were decorated with the marbles of Ravenna[b] and Rome.[c]

These structures of the ninth century are celebrated as the wonders of the age in which

[a] Felibien Arch. III. 164. Besides the churches of St. Lawrence, St. Vincent, &c. which were rebuilt about this time, the Basilica of St. Paul was repaired, and a portico added to it by Adrian, who entrusted the superintendance of the works to Januarius, one of his officers.

[b] Appendix O. [c] Appendix P.

they were erected, and are described by contemporary writers in terms of unbounded admiration. The halls of the palace were decorated with the most costly ornaments, and marble basons were formed to receive the warm springs, in which the emperor delighted to bathe.[a] The magnificence of the church was so extraordinary as to give a new distinction to the name of the city.[b]

We must indeed believe[c] that the buildings at Aix-la-Chapelle far exceeded both in taste and extent the works of the preceding French monarchs; it is probable also that Italian artists were employed in their construction,[d] and that Charlemagne would order them to imitate, as much as possible, the monuments

[a] Eginhard, c. 22.

[b] The same writer mentions, that from the church which was commonly called *Capella*, the town came to be distinguished by the name of Aix-la-Chapelle.

[c] Appendix Q.

[d] The monk of St. Gaul after describing the palace, observes, Basilica, antiquis Romanorum operibus præstantiore, brevi ab eo fabricata, ex *omnibus cismarinis regionibus magistris & opificibus* advocatis. Legend. lib. I. c. xxxii.

of ancient Rome;[a] but the depraved taste which in this age prevailed in Italy and Rome itself, will prevent us from conceiving they exhibited any thing beyond a barbarous splendour. The Roman architecture had fallen into the lowest state of degradation since the fourth century; the churches of Constantine were still imitated, but the new edifices were on a smaller scale, dark, and irregularly built; in this manner the arts continued to languish in the seat of their former greatness till the eleventh century, when they began in some measure to revive under the Greek artists, who were invited from Constantinople by the commercial states in the north of Italy.

The churches therefore of the age of Charlemagne which still remain, exhibit, it must be allowed, the most striking examples of

[a] Fecit ibi et Palatium quod Lateranis nominavit. Ib. I. xxx. After the Lateran palace at Rome, Aix-la-Chapelle is called by contemporary writers secunda Roma, ventura Roma, alta Roma. Valesii. Not. Gall. p. 28.

which they so often visited[d]. The use of small bells *nolæ*, in this country, if we may credit William of Malmsbury, may be traced as high as the fifth century[e]. And it is clear from Bede, that even those of the larger kind, *campanæ*, such as sounded in the air, and called a numerous congregation to divine service, were employed in England as early as the year 680, being that in which the Abbess Hilda died[f].

Nothing then is more glaringly absurd than to suppose that the Goths and other barbarous nations who overturned the Roman empire introduced what we call the Saxon or any other style of architecture instead of the prevailing one. It is almost as extravagant to

[d] See the note page 33, concerning the belfry built by P. Stephen.

[e] "Brigida domum, rediens (A. D. 488.) relictis ibi (Glastoniæ,) "perâ, monili, *nolâ*, textrilibus armis, quæ ibidem ad ejus me- "moriam resurvantur." Gul. Malm. de Antiqui, Glast.—"Pa- "triarcha Dewy (David) quatuor muneribus ditavit *insigni nolâ* "&c." Viz. circa an. 500 Ibid.

[f] Appendix N.

say, with the learned Bishop Warburton, that " the piety of the Saxon kings consisted " chiefly in building churches at home, " and in making pilgrimages abroad, espe- " cially to the Holy Land;" and that " they took the whole of their ideas of " architecture from the religious edifices " in Palestine, and particularly from the " church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem." This latter church according to Eusebius, was, as it is still, circular; now this form was exceedingly rare in our churches, before the foundation of the Templars, in the twelfth century; on the other hand, not one of our Saxon kings or even prelates is known to have visited the Holy Land. In a word, it is demonstrated that architecture like the other arts of civil life, was inculcated to our ancestors by the Romans in the state in which they themselves practised it. Such was the state of things during the Saxon period, and down to the conquest; but not long after

cuted, is finished with considerable distinctness and effect.[a]

The wooden bridge of five hundred paces in length, which Charlemagne built across the Rhine at Mayence, deserves to be reckoned among his great works. When it was destroyed by fire, he determined to rebuild it with stone, but was prevented by his death. His palaces at Ingelheim, near Mayence, at Nimeguen on the Waël, and in other places, were esteemed the most magnificent structures which had been raised for more than four centuries. This magnificence extended to every part of his empire, he assisted the inhabitants of Florence to repair the public works in their city, and conceived the grand project, which he began to execute, of opening the communication between the ocean and the Black sea by uniting the Danube and the Rhine.[b]

[a] A representation of it is given in the Musée des Mon. Fran. I. Pl. 24.

[b] Felibien Arch. III. 163—165.

The plunder afforded by his successful campaigns enabled him freely to indulge his magnificent disposition; and it cannot be doubted, that his various works, and the intercourse which his government produced between France and the rest of Europe, were very favourable to the progress and improvement of the arts; as not only the number of artists was greatly increased, but they were in many instances furnished with better models for imitation.

A short time before his death, Charlemagne called his sons together, and recommended to them the care of the works with which he had adorned his empire; desiring them to add to them, and in every thing to promote the public advantage: a command which was not neglected by Pepin and Louis, the kings of Italy and Aquitaine.

Louis, who outlived his brother, and succeeded to the crown of France and the empire of the West, would perhaps have emulated still further the magnificence of his

father's example, had not the dissensions in his family prevented the completion of his designs. The catalogue of religious structures which he built is very extensive: the chief of which are the churches and monasteries of St. Philibert, St. Florent sur Loire, of Karoffe, Conches, St. Maixant, Menat, Manlieu in Auvergne, Moissac, St. Savin in Poitou, Nouaillé, St. Theotfroy, St. Paixant, Solognac near Limoges, St. Marie, St. Radegonde d'Agnane, St. Laurent and Caunes. Louis also endeavoured to reform the manners of the clergy, whom he censured for the ostentatious splendour of their habits, which were covered with silver and gold, and precious stones; he prohibited them from exercising any trade unsuitable to the dignity of their profession, and enjoined them particularly to maintain the church property, and to repair the churches and monasteries[a] which were intrusted to their care.

It was during the reign of this monarch

[a] Felibien Arch. III. 171—173.

that Ebo, bishop of Rheims, began to rebuild his cathedral, on which occasion the king sent his own architect *Rumalde* to carry on the work:[a] it is not said whether he was an ecclesiastic, but perhaps not, as the professional artists were become numerous at this time, and it is clear that he practised the art as a profession.

The distracted state of France at the end of the reign of Louis, and under his successors of the Carlovingian race, impeded for a time the advancement of the arts, and swept away many interesting monuments. The progress of the Normans, who now began their irruptions, was every where marked with fire and desolation. A body of these barbarians under Hastings, destroyed a great number of churches. St. Oüen at Rouen, fell a prey to their fury in 842, and the town and cathedral of Chartres were burnt by them in 850. A few years afterwards they demolished the church and monastery of St. Gene-

[a] Frodoard, Lib. III. c. 19.

vieve at Paris, set fire several times to the abbey of St. Germain des Prez, and ruined the church of St. Martin at Tours, with many others. The Saracens, on the other side, made an incursion into France, in which they pillaged the abbey of Mont St. Michael, and ravaged a considerable tract of country.[a]

During this distressing period Charles the Bald in vain endeavoured to fortify his cities and recruit his armies: he was reduced to the misery of seeing his kingdom crumble away around him, and to lament the defection of his nobles, who seized the moment of his misfortunes as a favourable opportunity for asserting their own independence. Several works, however, were carried on under his government, particularly at Compiegne, which he ornamented with the abbey of Nostre Dame, (afterwards called St. Corneille,[b]) and other structures, and dignified the town with the title of Charle-ville. He

[a] Felibien Arch. III. 174, 175.

[b] See Mon. Hist. sur Charles le Chauve. Lebeuf, Rec. I. 356.

rebuilt also the church and abbey of St. Benigne at Dijon, and many edifices of the same kind were erected during his reign. The nobles, who had acquired the sovereignty of Provinces, soon began to distinguish themselves by the monuments of their piety, among whom Baudoüin, the first Count of Flanders, and his descendants were the most remarkable. A castle was raised at Blois by Hastings the Norman chief, who was now acknowledged Count of Chartres by the French monarch. The Norman princes moreover, after they were established in Neustria, yielded to the spirit of the age, and founded many churches and monasteries.[a]

The buildings of the ninth and tenth centuries were imitated from the works of Charlemagne; but his feeble successors, deficient both in riches and power, were unable to equal them in magnitude or beauty of materials. France, during the greater part of the ninth century, was a scene of consternation

[a] Felibien Arch. III. 177.

and bloodshed; the traces of civilization disappeared amidst battles and cruelties, and the human intellect sunk still deeper in the darkness of ignorance and superstition.

At this period (the tenth century) so hostile to the progress of the arts, an idea was adopted, which proved more fatal to them than the terrors of war or the devastations of the Normans. It was believed that the thousand years mentioned in the Apocalypse would be completed at the close of the tenth century, and that the end of the world would happen at that time: notwithstanding the opposition of a few churchmen, the notion spread with extraordinary rapidity in France, and the neighbouring countries. The corruption of manners which every where prevailed, and more especially among the clergy, the consequence of the disordered and barbarous sate of society, seemed to justify the apprehension that the reign of Anti-Christ was come, and that the dissolution of all things was at hand; and so strong and so

general was this impression, that scarcely a single building of note was undertaken during this period, and the churches already erected were suffered to fall into decay. As the time for the accomplishment of the prophecy drew near, many devout persons hastened to the east to meet their Saviour at Jerusalem, while the lower classes of the people, sunk in the grossest ignorance, neglected the offices of religion, and sought relief from their uncertainty in the illusions of magic and witchcraft.[a]

The most celebrated, and almost the only foundation of consequence which took place during this dreary period, was the abbey of Clugny. It was built about the year 910 by Berno, abbot of Balme, with the assistance of William Duke of Acquitaine and Auvergne.[b] Odo, the second abbot, introduced, among the monks assembled here, the rule

[a] Glaber. Rodulphi Hist. Lib. II. c. 6. III. c. 4. Baronius Ann. Eccles. Tom. XI. An. 1001. 1003.—and Le Sueur. Hist. de l'Eglise, VIII. p. 478

[b] Glaber. Hist. III. c. 5.

which afterwards became famous throughout Europe, and the construction of the present church has also been attributed to him;[a] but there is little doubt that this edifice was the work of the succeeding century. Having established the discipline of his convent, Odo visited Rome in 936, and died in 942.[b]

Maignaud, a canon of St. Genevieve at Paris, is recorded as the builder of the entrance of that church in the reign of Hugh Capet;[c] we are also able to discover the name of another architect who flourished in this dark century (*Anstée*, a monk of Gorze), who seems to have enjoyed a considerable reputation, though said to have had but few opportunities of exercising his talents.[d]

We must lament however in general, that the historians of these early times have either wholly neglected to mention the names of

[a] Lenoir. Mus. des. Mon. Fran. Tom. II. 6.

[b] Cave. Hist. Litt. p. 496.

[c] Millin. Antiquites Nationales, Tom. V. No. 60.

[d] Lebeuf. Etat des sciences dep. Charlem. jusqu'a Roi Robert Rec. II. 139.

artists, or have made use of such equivocal terms[a] in speaking of them, that it is difficult to determine whether they mean to express the architect under whose direction, or the founder at whose expense the building was constructed.

[a] The terms, Structor, Extructor, Ædificator, fecit, ædificavit, construxit, &c. which accompany the mention of building in the archives and records of ancient churches, render it often impossible for us to come to any certain decision respecting the meaning of the writer.

CHAP. V.

THE PROGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE FROM ROBERT THE PIOUS TO PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

French Churches rebuilt and repaired—the Norman Churches—first Crusade—Introduction of the pointed Arch—The Bridge of Avignon—total Change of Style in Architecture.

THE Christians at the beginning of the *eleventh century*, relieved from their mistaken apprehensions, hastened to rebuild and repair their ecclesiastical structures: the various cities and provinces, especially of France, vied with each other on this occasion in a display of enthusiastic devotion. On all sides new and more stately edifices of religion arose, and the world, according to the expression of a contemporary writer, seeming to cast off its ancient appearance, every where put on a white mantle of churches.[a]

Robert the Pious encouraged by his example and assistance the zeal of the clergy

[a] Appendix T.

and the people, and in the peaceful interval of his reign the science of architecture, no longer obstructed by violence or fanaticism, began to display itself with superior majesty and effect. The contributions of this monarch enabled Morard, the abbot of St. Germain des Prez, to rebuild the church of his convent on a larger scale:[a] St. Genevieve was also restored, and a cloister added to it by his order, and he made preparations for erecting a cathedral at Paris, in a style of the utmost magnificence the times would allow.[b]

Orleans, the place of his nativity, was particularly distinguished by the marks of his piety; he built there the churches of Nostre Dame de bonnes nouvelles, St. Peter, and St. Aignan, which last was consecrated with great solemnity in 1029: he made several donations to the cathedral, which Arnoul, the bishop, had almost wholly rebuilt by means of a treasure

[a] Bouillart Hist. St. Germain des Prez. III. 2.

[b] See part II. c. iii.

which he accidentally discovered in digging the foundations.[a]

Many other religious structures[b] owed their existence to his liberality, particularly the churches of St. Nicholas des Champs, near his palace, without the walls of Paris, and Nostre Dame des Champs, near the same city. St. Rieule at Senlis, St. Hilaire at Poictiers, St. Cassian at Autun, Nostre Dame at Estampes, St. Leger in the forest of Iveline, and St. Mark at Vitri:[c] the monastery of Nostre Dame at Poissy, was founded by Constance his queen: it is probable also that he rebuilt or repaired the church of Fleury, now called St. Benoit sur Loire, where he had received his education under the abbot Gerbert, who was afterwards Pope Sylvester II.; on the portal of this edifice is inscribed

[a] Maroles Hist. des Roys de France, p. 157

[b] Helgaud, moine de St. Denis, auteur de la vie du Roy Robert, nomme quatorze monasteres et sept eglises que ce Roy fit construire de neuf ou rebastir de son tems. D.M. Felibien Hist. de Paris, III. 38.

[c] Du Tillet Chronique, p. 38.

VIVBERIUS ME FECIT. We meet with a similar record on the gate of the church of St. Ursin at Bourges, which appears to have been built about the same time. GRATVLFVS FECIT.[a] It were to be wished that other artists of these times had adopted this effectual mode of making their names known to posterity. Besides the edifices we have already mentioned, Robert surrounded Montfort and Espernon with walls and towers, and erected several palaces and castles in different parts of France.[b]

During the reign of this monarch a new church was constructed at the abbey of St. Benigne at Dijon; the foundations were laid in 1001, by the abbot *William*, who directed the work himself, with the assistance of *Hunaldus*, a young monk, whom he had selected on account of his expertness in the arts.[c] This building was considered an excellent

[a] Lebeuf. Etat des Sciences. Rec. II. 140.
[b] Felibien Arch. IV. 192. Du Tillet Chron. 38.
[c] Appendix U.

imitation of Roman architecture, but its celebrity seems, in a great measure, to have arisen from the columns of marble and stone which Bruno bishop of Dijon, had procured for its embellishment, from some other place.[a] The abbot William erected also several monasteries in the neighbourhood.[b]

The cathedral of Chartres, one of the grandest works of the age, was rebuilt about the same period by Fulbert, its bishop. This church, which is said to have been originally founded in the third century, had been frequently burnt, and particularly by lightning in 1020; upon which Fulbert undertook its entire reconstruction, and the great reputation he enjoyed in France and the rest of Europe, enabled him to execute it in a manner till then unknown in his country.[c] Ka-

[a] Lebeuf. Etat des Sc. Rec. II. 140.

[b] Vet. Chron. Divion. Spicileg. I. 142.

[c] The length of this church is 420 feet, the height 108; the nave is 48 feet wide, with aisles 18 feet and a half wide, and 42 high: on each side of the choir the aisles are double, and the transept, which is 210 feet long, contains aisles, which seems to have been the first instance of this magnificent arrangement in

nute, King of England, and Richard Duke Normandy, were among the princes who assisted him with contributions; some accounts mention that he had the gratification of seeing the work finished before his death, which happened in 1028; this, however, is disproved by the epitaph upon Thierri, or Theodoric, his successor, still existing in the church of St. Pere, which ascribes the completion of the fabric to that prelate, who died in 1048.[a] The northern part was erected afterwards in 1060, at the expence of Jean Cormier, a native of Chartres, and physician to the king.[b]

In the reign of Henry I, the church of St. Remi at Rheims, founded by the Abbot Hermer, was consecrated in 1049, with great pomp, by Leo IX, and the new cathedral,

France. There are seven chapels in the Chevet, and the Crypts and lower church are built with great art and regularity. Felib. Arch. IV. 190.

[a] Complevit ecclesiam cathedralem.—See Lenoir, (Musée des Mon. Fran. II 128.) who has drawn this account from the archives of the city of Chartres, preserved in the national library, and seems on this occasion to deserve the praise of accuracy as well as diligence.

[b] Appendix X.

which was completed at Seez in 1050, under the direction of *Azon*, a monk, having been burnt to the ground by the citizens in an attempt to drive from it a troop of robbers, who had taken refuge there; the same pontiff engaged Yves, Count of Bellême and Alençon, the bishop, to rebuild and restore it to its former splendour.[a] Humbert, Archbishop of Lyons, erected in 1050, a stone bridge across the Saone in that city, and it is expressly mentioned that he was himself the architect, besides defraying the whole expence of this great work.[b]

In 1056, Girard, the first prior of La Charité sur Loire, began to construct the church of his convent, which was consecrated by Pascal II, in 1107. It appears, however, from an ancient record, that the fabric was completed by Girard before he resigned his office in 1084.[c]

[a] Felibien Arch IV. 194. [b] Ib.—ib.

[c] Richardi Cluniac. Hist. de Origin. Monast. Charitatis. Lebeuf. Rec. Tom. II. Richard of Clugny seems to have lived in the latter part of the twelfth century.

The abbey church of Clugny, the largest and perhaps the most interesting of the ancient ecclesiastical monuments of France, was erected about this time. The Abbot Odilo, at the beginning of this century, by means of the Rhone and Durance, transported thither a number of marble columns, with which he is said to have constructed a cloister.[a] The present church, which contains several curious antique marble pillars, was perhaps began by the same prelate, but the chief part of it was built by Hugh, his successor, about the year 1069;[b] it was finished by this abbot, and the ceremony of its dedication was performed in 1130 by Innocent II, who had formerly been a monk

[a] Monachus ignoti nominis sed vetus in libello de Vita S. Odolonis scribit Odilonem *Claustrum* struxisse, columnis marmoreis ex ultimis partibus provinciæ, &c. &c. Valesii Not. Galliarum, p. 148.

[b] Alien Priories, Vol. II. p. 104. The length of the church of Clugny is 620 feet; it has two transepts, the upper 200, the lower 120 feet long. The tomb of St. Hugh, and the painting of the Apsis, a work of the twelfth century, but designed with great freedom and spirit, are remains of antiquity particularly worthy attention. See Musée des Mon. Fran. Tom. II. Pl. 57, 58.

" of all began in the East, after the fall of the " Greek empire[o]. The Holy War gave the " Christians who had been there an idea of " the Saracen works, which were afterwards " by them imitated in the West." This system of a Saracenic origin of the pointed style has, out of mere compliment to the name of its author, been adopted by bishop Louth[p], Riou, Warton, Grose, and the generality of modern writers, who have had occasion to enter upon the subject.

In refutation of Sir Christopher's system, it may be observed that the first, or grand crusade, in which the Conqueror's son Robert, the Earl of Albemarle, and many other Normans and Englishmen, amongst a million of other Europeans of different countries,

o Every one knows that the Greek Empire fell by the reduction of Constantinople and Trebizond, under the arms of Mahomet II. in 1453. But it would be a vain attempt to render Sir Christopher's *history* of Architecture consistent, either with the truth, or with itself.

p See his account of the architecture of Winchester Cathedral, in the Life of William of Wykeham, and the observations on this account, in the author's History of Winchester, Vol. II.

were engaged, took place in the eleventh century. It began in 1096, and terminated by the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. Now nothing is more certain, and evident, than that the crusaders did not bring back with them into England or Europe, a single feature of the pointed style, since the churches built subsequent to that period; as for example, the ancient parts of Exeter[q] and Rochester[r] cathedrals, and the Abbey Church of Reading[s], &c. do not, in their original works, exhibit one of these features. If any individual, of that period, might be expected to have brought back with him into Europe, this supposed Eastern style, it was the celebrated monk of Bec Abbey, Gundulphus, who afterwards became Bishop of Rochester. He was the most celebrated practical architect of his age[t]. In fact, he built the cathedral church

q Built by B. Warwelast, in 1107.

r Built by b. Gundulph, about 1100.

s A. D. 1125.

t "Episcopus Gundulphus in opere cæmentarii plurimum sciens "et efficax erat." Ernulph de Roffen. Ecc. Angl. Sac. Tom. i, p. 338.

improved by the remains of Roman architecture frequently imitated with success the Corinthian capital, and sometimes the classical proportions. Both styles are wholly deficient in correctness of taste, but the barbarous massiveness of a Norman structure has a more decided air of originality, and its rudeness when on a large scale, serves greatly to enhance the sublimity of its effect.

The abbey church of St. Stephen, which was raised by William the conqueror at Caen, and that of the Holy Trinity, founded in the same city by his Queen Matilda,[a] are the principal examples on the continent of that peculiar manner of building, which was introduced into England by the Norman prelates at the end of the eleventh century.

The crusades, which now began to arrest the attention, and employ the exertions of Christendom, produced the most important consequences to the arts and manners of Europe: they roused mankind from the in-

[a] See Ducarrel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities.

tellectual lethargy into which they had been plunged for so many centuries; they brought the different people of Europe together, and carried them into more civilized regions: the intercourse which this promoted among themselves, and the accession of light which they derived from a communication with Italy, Constantinople, and the East, gradually effected a general and visible improvement. The first crusade was soon followed by a change in the arms, dress, and architecture, of every nation of Europe.

In the course of the *twelfth century* the *pointed arch* began to shew itself in the edifices of France and the neighbouring countries; an innovation which was so universally admired and adopted, that in a short time the ancient Roman, or Lombard method, was entirely discontinued, and a new character of building, conceived in a different taste, and founded upon other principles, sprung up and spread itself over the greater part of Christendom. Among the earliest

instances of the appearance of this new style in France, we may remark the works of the celebrated *Suger*, abbot of St. Denis, which were begun in 1137. This prelate was greatly skilled in architecture, and under his direction the church of his convent was almost wholly rebuilt with unexampled rapidity, about the middle of the twelfth century.[a] Nearly at the same period we may place the foundation of the church and monastery of the Knights-Templars at Paris. This body, which was instituted at Jerusalem in 1118, was incorporated in Paris in 1148,[b] and it seems probable that their buildings, which bear the marks of the earliest gothic character, were commenced immediately afterwards.[c] The tower, which was perhaps the last part of their edifice, was erected by Hubert, treasurer of the order, who died in 1222.[d]

Hilduard, a Benedictine monk, deserves to

[a] Dom. Felibien Hist. St. Denis, IV. 7. See Part II. c. iii.
[b] D. Felibien—Hist. de Paris, IV. 57.
[c] Ib.—ib. Theatre des Antiquitez de Paris.
[d] Felibien Hist. IV. 57. p. 181.

be classed among the scientific architects of this age; he was employed about the year 1170 by Foulcher, abbot of St. Pere at Chartres, to rebuild the church of his convent, which is still admired for the excellence of its construction. As Hilduard passed a great part of his life in this monastery, it has been doubted whether he was engaged in any other works of consequence. About this time also flourished *Boiliviis*, a celebrated architect of Provence: we are not however acquainted with any of his buildings except the church of Maguelonne, an inscription on which bears his name, and the date 1178, when it was finished.[a] It may be curious to mention that Henry II of England, who appears at last to have been awed into repentance for the murder of Becket, besides enriching several of the churches in his French dominions, founded in the neighbourhood of Fontevrault, where he was buried, the mo-

[a] Felibien Arch. IV. 200.

nasteries of Baugerais Villiers and St. Jean du Liget, in expiation of his crime.[a]

The great bridge across the Rhone between Avignon and Villeneuve, one of the grandest efforts of architectural skill which France has ever produced, was erected in the twelfth century; many extraordinary circumstances are related of St. *Benedict*, or *Benezet*, its founder, who is described as a shepherd inspired by God to undertake this vast enterprise. However we may feel inclined to doubt his inspiration, we must allow him to have possessed uncommon skill and great public spirit; and considering the extent and novelty of the plan, it may be suspected that he designedly had recourse to the aid of superstition. He laid the foundation of his work in 1171, and completed it after eleven years labour in 1188. Having repaired one of the arches, which had accidently given way, he proceeded to erect near the entrance

[a] Marotes Hist. des Roys, p. 182.

of the city an hospital of religious persons, who were denominated les Freres du Pont, their office being to preserve the fabric, and to afford succour to travellers. In this retreat he resided till his death, which happened before the year 1195, when he was buried in a chapel on the third pier of the bridge on the side of Avignon.[a]

If we reflect on the boldness and utility of this undertaking, as well as the permanency he ensured by annexing to it a religious foundation, we cannot fail to attribute to Benezet a more than ordinary share of genius, and esteem him one of the enlightened benefactors of mankind rather than a fanatic.

The former repairs, which were slight and insufficient, having left the church and monastery of St. Genevieve in a ruinous condition, Stephen, who was elected abbot in 1177, determined to undertake the complete restoration of the whole fabric, which he

[a] Felibien Arch. IV. 201.

effected before he was appointed bishop of Tournay in 1192.[a] The upper stories of the tower were rebuilt under the direction of Thibault, the precentor of the convent.[b] At this time also Maurice de Sully, bishop of Paris, was engaged in erecting the eastern part of the cathedral of Nostre Dame,[c] a work which was carried on with great spirit by his successors, though it was not entirely completed for the space of nearly two centuries afterwards. The choir of the cathedral of Lyons seems to have been constructed about this period,[d] and the collegiate church of St. Nicolas at Amiens was begun about 1192, and the portal finished in the year 1200.[e]

We have already remarked that the architecture of France underwent a total change in the course of the twelfth century; during

[a] D. Felibien, Hist. de Paris, V. 30. See Part II. c. ii.
[b] Millin, Antiq. Nationales, Tom. V. p. 58.
[c] D. Felib. Hist. Paris, V. 10. See Part II. c. iv.
[d] Appendix Y.
[e] Millin, Ant. Nat. V. No. 51.

this period it exhibited three distinct characters; at the beginning of the century the old Lombard mode was in practice; towards the middle this became mixed with the new fashion of the pointed arch; and before the end the ancient heavy manner was every where discontinued, and the new airy unmixed Gothic universally adopted.

CHAP. VI.

THE PROGRESS OF ARCHITECTURE FROM PHILIP AUGUSTUS TO LOUIS XII.

Flourishing State of the Art—Names of Architects—Churches of St. Louis—Bridges—Wars of the English in France—their Effects—Works of the Fourteenth Century—Alterations in Taste—Churches of the Fifteenth Century—The Arts in Italy—The Gothic Style entirely abandoned.

We now approach that æra, the *thirteenth century*, in which the Ecclesiastical Architecture of France arrived at the utmost point of excellence which it was destined to attain in the course of the middle ages; an excellence which in its characteristic merits was never surpassed in any other age or country. Every thing seemed to conspire, in the circumstances of the nation and of the world, to produce an interval favourable for the cultivation of the arts; and genius and talents were not wanting to make use of the happy opportunity. The thirteenth century found

the French artists, a numerous and protected body, in possession of a new and beautiful style of building; the religious enthusiasm of the times, fanned by the spirit of the crusades, was at its height, and the throne of France was filled by monarchs equally distinguished by their piety and magnificence. The dissensions between the barons and their sovereign which agitated *England* during the greater part of this century, increased the power and ensured the tranquillity of France.[a] Thus were external circumstances no less favourable to the prevailing taste, and its triumph was proportionably brilliant. The most sumptuous churches, which now adorn the French cities, are the works of this age; and while their extraordinary beauty renders them interesting objects of curiosity, the accurate knowledge we are able to acquire of their dates and the names of their architects,

[a] Henry III. renounced by treaty, in 1259, his claim to the French provinces possessed by his father, excepting the duchy of Aquitaine, for which he did homage before St. Louis.—Du Tillet.—Recueil des Traitez, p. 25. 28.

is singularly important to the illustration of our own antiquities, and the general history of Gothic architecture.

We learn from the Chronicle of the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, that *Ingelramne*, who had lately been employed on the church of Nostre Dame at Rouen, was engaged in 1212, by the abbot Richard, to rebuild the church of his monastery; a great part of which he raised in the space of a year and a half, when he retired, and another artist, named *Waultier de Meulan*, continued the work, which he finished in less than three years. Little however of this ancient edifice remains, it having been burnt twice within the century, and was renewed in its present form, under the abbot Pierre de Caniba, about the year 1273.[a]

At this time churches, almost without number, and rivalling each other in magnificence, were rising in every part of France: at Rheims, the cathedral began to display the graceful

[a] Felibien Arch. IV. 205.

lightness of the new style,[a] the church of St. Nicaise, in the same city, was commenced by *Hugues Libergier*;[b] at Lyons the body of the cathedral was completed; the cathedral of Amiens, the pride and boast of Gothic architecture, was reared by *Robert de Lusarches*, *Thomas de Cormont*, and his son *Regnault*;[c] the works of Nostre Dame were carried on by *Jean de Chelles*;[d] and the celebrated *Pierre de Montereau*, who seems to have enjoyed a higher reputation than any of his contemporaries, was employed in the smaller, though not less beautiful, fabrics of the chapel and refectory of St. Germain des Prez,[e] and the Sainte Chapelle of the palace at Paris.[f] *Eudes de Montreuil* also flourished at this period, an artist equally remarkable for his scientific knowledge and the boldness of his conceptions; he accom-

[a] Marlot Met. Rem. Hist. Tom. II. p. 470. See Part II. c. v.
[b] Epit. Chron. S. Nic. Rem. p. 636. See Part II. c. v.
[c] See Part II. c. 6. [d] See Part II. c. iv.
[e] Bouillart, Hist. Abb. St. Germ. III. 51. 54.
[f] See Part II. c. vii.

panied St. Louis in his expedition to the East, where he fortified the city and port of Joppa, and on his return to France was engaged by the king in the construction of several religious buildings, amongst which were the churches of St. Catherine du Val des Ecoliers, St. Croix de la Bretonnerie, les Quinze-Vingts,[a] the White Monks, the Mathurins, the Carthusians, the Cordeliers, and the Hotel Dieu at Paris.[b] He likewise erected the church of Nostre Dame at Mantes, which affords a striking proof of his genius and skill.[c] It is discovered from the inscription on his tomb, which formerly existed in the nave of the church of the Cordeliers,[d] that

[a] An hospital founded by St. Louis, in the truest spirit of charity, for three hundred blind knights, after he had ransomed them from the Saracens, who had put out their eyes.

[b] Felibien Arch. IV. 210.

[c] The vaulting of the roof is pitched with an extraordinary boldness, that astonished Souflot and Gabriel, in their scientific survey of the French churches; it is related, that when the building was originally finished, the workmen refused to remove the centering, till Eudes, by sending his nephew to assist them, quieted their apprehensions. The height of the roof from the pavement is ninety-six feet. Millin, Ant. Nat. Tom. II. No. 19.

[d] This church was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1580.

he died in the year 1289, and that he had two wives, one of whom, named Mahault,[a] attended the Queen on her voyage to Egypt and the Holy-land.[b]

Another artist, called Jouselin de Courvault, accompanied the king to the crusade, and invented several warlike machines.[c]

The number of religious edifices, which were erected in France during the reign of St. Louis, exceeds all former or subsequent example; in addition to those which we have already mentioned, and many others which were founded by individuals,[d] the church and abbey of St. Antoine near Paris, the churches of the Filles Dieu, the Jacobins, the Carmelites, and the Cordeliers of the Fauxbourg St. Marcel, were built by the orders of the king: nor were the marks of

[a] The same name as Mathilde, Mahaud, or Maud, so common in the French and English histories.

[b] Felibien, Arch. IV. 210. [c] Joinville, Hist. St. Louis.

[d] The church of St. Stephen at Troyes, and some others, were founded by Nanry Count of Champaign. Joinville, Hist. par Du Fresne, p. 19. Note p. 47.

royal piety confined to the metropolis; the abbies of Lis near Melun, of Longchamp near St. Cloud, and St. Mathieu near Rouen; the greater part of the abbey church of St. Denis;[a] the Hotels Dieu of Vernon, Pontoise and Compiegne; the church and abbey of Manbuisson, the church of the Nuns of Poissy,[b] and the monastery and church of Royaumont,[c] are to be recorded among the magnificent monuments of this prince; who joined to the fervour of superstition, which he derived from the enthusiastic turn of his mind, and the character of the times, a political sagacity that enabled him to check and reduce within narrower limits, the exorbitant power of his nobles, and acquire an absolute command over the resources of his empire.

A bridge across the Rhone at Lyons was erected about the year 1244, and the Pont

[a] See Part II. c. iii.

[b] Lenoir mentions this as the work of Pierre de Montereau. Musee des Mon. Fran. Tom. II. p. 18.

[c] Felibien Arch. IV. 212.

St. Esprit, another vast structure, the result most probably of the useful example of Benezet, which in some respects it resembles, was undertaken in the course of the same century. The first stone was laid with great ceremony in 1265, by Jean de Tianges, the prior of the monastery of St. Esprit,[a] and the whole of the fabric, which is above three thousand feet[b] in length, was completed in 1309. The building of bridges was justly esteemed a work of charity in the middle ages; the situation of travellers, especially merchants, journeying with their goods to distant fairs, was no where so exposed and liable to the attacks of robbers, as at the passages of rivers. The Confraternitè des Ponts, by whom the Pont St. Esprit was con-

[a] Felibien Arch. IV. 202.

[b] The width of this bridge is fifteen feet; it is carried over nineteen great arches, and is besides pierced with four of a smaller size, to give a passage to the waters of the river when it overflows; in this it resembles the bridge of Avignon: for the purpose of resisting the extraordinary rapidity of the current, instead of being built in a straight direction, it forms an angle against the stream. A chapel is constructed on one of the middle piers.

structed, is represented as a company of free-masons, who engaged in works of this nature from motives of religion and humanity. The religious associations of artists for such purposes affords at once a proof of the actual barbarism and of the increasing civilization of the age.

The abbots of the Cistertian Order, who rebuilt the church of Nostre Dame des Dunes in Flanders, must be reckoned among the architects of the thirteenth century. The foundations were laid in 1214 by Pierre, the seventh abbot of the convent, but he dying the same year, the work was continued by his successors, Amelie, Gilles de Ste'e'n, Salomon de Gand, Nicolas de Belle, Lambert de Kenle, and Theodoric, the last of whom completed the fabric, which was dedicated in 1262.[a] The whole of this edifice was erected by the monks themselves, assisted by the lay-brothers and servants, amounting in all to more than eighty persons: and it

[a] Felibien Arch. IV. 213.

deserves to be mentioned, though not strictly a French building,[a] as a curious instance of the arts being generally studied and practised in a monastery at so late a period.

The name of Robert de Coucy, who completed the church of St. Nicaise and the cathedral of Rheims, an artist who equalled, and probably surpassed, his numerous contemporaries in richness and fertility of genius,[b] is the last to be recorded among the brilliant constellation of talents which adorned France in the thirteenth century, and who by a singular combination of boldness with symmetry, and lightness with ornament, produced the most majestic and sublime monuments of Ecclesiastical Architecture.[c]

[a] The cathedral of Strasbourg also, from its celebrity, and its situation in the neighbourhood of France, deserves to be noticed. It was finished in 1275, from the designs of Erwin de Steinbach. Two years afterwards the same artist began to raise the tower, which after his death, in 1305, was carried on by John Hilts of Cologne, and completed in 1449, by an architect of Swabia, whose name is not known. See the Abbé Grandidier's History of the Church of Strasbourg, and Felib. Arch. IV. 231. 234.

[b] See Part II. c. 5. [c] Appendix Z.

But this triumph of the Gothic style in France was of short duration, and seems in a great measure to have ceased at this period *(about the fourteenth century)*. The two succeeding ones were distinguished by no architectural efforts, of equal excellence with those which we have already enumerated. It is remarkable, among the churches whose history and antiquities will be minutely inquired into in the course of the following pages, that scarcely a part, and certainly no material part of any of them is to be referred to those ages. The cause of this, however, can be readily assigned in the wars which the English carried into the heart of France, and the divisions and factions of the French nobility rendered that kingdom during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a theatre of bloodshed and desolation; the unfortunate sovereigns sometimes in captivity, and generally defeated, without finances, at the head of an exhausted state, had as little means of promoting, as their subjects had leisure for the

cultivation of the arts.[a] The strongest expressions are used by the French writers[b] to describe the terror and misery which pervaded the country. The peasants were forced from their labours, whole districts were laid waste, and the towns impoverished by the heaviest imposts and exactions.[c] In the midst of these evils, which were aggravated by the sufferings of famine and pestilence, we cannot wonder that the piety of the nation was unable to display itself in the construction of religious buildings. The princes of France had more occasion to fortify their cities than to found monasteries; and when their treasuries were insufficient to maintain their

[a] Lenoir, mentioning the decline of the arts during the fourteenth century, makes this judicious remark :—Les croisades reprisent faveur mais les nouvelles emigrations au lieu d'etre favorable aux arts comme elles l'avoient eté sous Louis IX. ne servirent qu'a eloigner les succes. Musée, Tom. II. p. 45.

[b] An old writer laments Bellorum turbines quibus post pugnam Creciacam misere quassata est et attrita Gallia.—Chron. S. Nic. Rem. p. 638. Les Anglois, dit le Sage, jettassent la peur & la frayeur jusques dans le cœur de la France aussi bien que dans le cœur des François. Du Chesne Recherches des Villes &c. de la France, p. 114.

[c] Du Tillet, Chron. p. 63. 67. 75.

armies, it is not extraordinary that they afforded but few proofs of ostentatious devotion.

In the earlier part however of the fourteenth century, before the invasion of Edward III, and in those provinces of France which were more remote from the scene of hostilities, several buildings were undertaken. The church of St. Ouën at Rouen, a work justly admired for the delicacy with which the ornamental parts are executed, was begun to be rebuilt by the Abbot, Jean Marc d'Argent,[a] in 1318, and the collegiate church of Ecouis, near the same city, was commenced in 1310, and dedicated in 1313.[b] The cathedral of Bourges was erected in its present form about the year 1324, by the Bishop Gillaume de Brousse, who rendered it one of the most magnificent churches in Europe.[c] The collegiate church of St. Sepul-

[a] John Roussel.—Alien Prior. Vol. I. p. 2.

[b] Millin Ant. Nat. Tom. III. No. 28.

[c] Felibien Arch. IV. 230.

chre at Paris, was begun in 1326, and finished so as to have mass said in it in the succeeding year, by *Guerin de Lorcignes*, whose name we discover in an inscription above the portal,[a] and who seems from his work to have been an artist of considerable talents. The Pope Benedict II founded the college, and built part of the church of the Bernardines in the same city, about 1335. It appears that *Jean Ravy*, an architect and sculptor, was employed for twenty-six years, at the beginning of this century, at the cathedral of Nostre Dame. The chapels on the north side the nave are supposed to have been erected about this time; it is probable, therefore, that he completed what Jean de Chelles left unfinished, and perhaps he even enlarged his design; it is certain he was engaged on

[a] L'an de grace MCCCXXVII le vendredi devant Noël fut chantée la premiere messe de cette Eglise et les fondemens levez: si comme il appert, par Maistre Guérin de Lorcignes qui eregea ce portail et le fonda premièrement.

This church is in the Rue St. Martin. Millin, Ant. Nat. Tom. III. No. 27.

the sculpture of the enclosure of the choir, which was afterwards completed by his nephew, Jean le Boutelier, in the year 1351.[a]

During the more favourable aspect of affairs which the valour and policy of Charles V procured for France, several considerable buildings were accomplished. The monasteries of the Augustins, and the Celestins at Paris, and the convent of the Trinity near Mantes, were erected by his order, and he augmented by his benefactions the Chartreuse of St. Jean de Liget in Tourraine.[b] The principal edifices, however, which were raised by this prudent monarch were of a civil and military nature. The Bastile and the castle of Vincennes[c] were finished by him, in the

[a] Felibien Arch. IV. 227.

[b] Maroles, Hist. des Roys, p. 248

[c] This castle was founded by Philip Augustus, about the year 1185; the great tower was begun by Philip de Valois in 1361, and carried by King John to the third story; it was *finished* by Charles V, as appears from some ancient verses engraved on a tablet in the wall. Du Chesne, Antiq. des Chateaux, &c. de la France, p. 197.

last of which he founded, about the year 1379, a magnificent chapel, on the model of the Sainte Chapelle at Paris.[a] The Châtelet, the petit Pont, the Pont de St. Michel, and the walls of the city near the Porte St. Antoine, were likewise of his construction, and he made many important additions and improvements at the Louvre,[b] and the Chateaux of St. Germain en Laye, Montargis and Creil.[c]

In the reign of his successor, Charles VI, the abbey of Bonport was erected about the year 1387,[d] and some other edifices; but the great work of art which distinguishes the annals of this prince is the fleet and the wooden fortifications which were constructed for the invasion of England. The account of this transaction is particularly curious.

[a] Dom. Felibien, Hist. de Paris, VII. 37.

[b] Charles V was the founder of the Royal Library of France; he placed about an hundred and twenty volumes in one of the towers of the Louvre, which was from hence called la tour de la Librarie.

[c] Felibien Arch. 230.

[d] Millin Ant. Nat.

Every vessel in the ports from Seville to Prussia was seized upon for the purpose, and a vast number built on the French coast: the whole when collected at Sluys amounted to fifteen hundred sail.[a] The constable of France prepared on board his division, "a town of frame-work, of large timber, which was to be put together on their landing in England, for the lords to retreat to as a place of safety." It was so contrived, that "when they were dislodged, it could be taken to pieces, roofs and all:" but in his passage from Tregueir in Brittany to join the king at Sluys, his fleet, consisting of seventy-two vessels, was dispersed in a storm off Margate: "some," says Froissart, "were blown into the Thames, where they were captured by the English, and among them was one that had two or three parts of the wooden town on board, and the workmen who were

[a] According to the speech of the Duke of Berry, by whose advice the expedition was abandoned. Johnes's Froissart, Vol. III. c. 67.

to erect it. They and the town were sent to London, which much delighted the king and citizens.[a]

The architecture of France in the fourteenth century differed in many of its features from that of the thirteenth. The latter style was not immediately disused; several alterations of character however gradually appeared, particularly with regard to the mullion-work of the heads of windows, which in the last century were ornamented with six foils or roses, [in general three in each window;] they now branched out into the form of leaves, and the compartments of the round windows at the ends of churches assumed the same fanciful appearance.[b] In some places we may also observe a richer decoration given to the vaulting of roofs. Similar alterations took place about the same time in England, where, from more fortunate cir-

[a] See the whole account of this interesting event. Johnes's Froissart, Vol. III. c. 58, 59. 65, 66, 67.

[b] Appendix AA.

cumstances they were carried to a higher state of perfection and magnificence.

The greater part of the *fifteenth century* was equally hostile to the practice of architecture as the fourteenth. It is probable that few buildings, and that none of any grandeur and importance, were undertaken during the incessant and sanguinary contests which ended in the expulsion of the English from France, and restored the monarchy of that nation from the most abject degradation to a state of vigour and prosperity. During this period, however, it appears that the church of St. Ouën at Rouen, was finished by Alexander de Berneual, who died in 1440, and is buried in that edifice, with an inscription on his tomb, declaring that he had been master of the works there.[a] The building of the abbey of Beaubec in Normandy, seems to have been delayed and interrupted by the

[a] Cy gist Me Alexandre de Berneval, Maistre des œuvres de messonnerie au Baillage de Roüen et de cette Eglise, qui trepassa a l'an de grace 1440 le 5 Janvier. Hist. Abb. Roy. de St. Ouen, Lib. II. p. 197.

troubled state of the times. Although it had been burnt in the year 1383, its restoration was not attempted till the middle of this century, and by the steeple not having been begun till 1668,[a] we may suspect that the work proceeded with more than ordinary slowness. The collegiate church of Nostre Dame at Clery, near Orleans, was erected by Louis XI, who also founded the first convent of Minims in France, in the park of his Château of Plessis, and another at Amboise.[b] The architectural taste of this age resembled the contemporary style of England and other countries. Many instances of tracery may be remarked, especially in sepulchral monuments[c] and chapels;[d] but the distracted condition of France afforded little

[a] Alien Prior, Vol. I. p. 41.

[b] Maroles, Hist. des Roys, p. 277. [c] Appendix BB.

[d] The chapel of Charles de Bourbon, Archbishop of Lyons, in the cathedral of that city, is a beautiful instance of this sort, and one of the latest works in the Gothic taste which were produced in France. Charles de Bourbon died in 1478, and what remained to be finished in the chapel was completed by Duke Pierre his brother after his death. Hist. Litt. de Lyon, II. c. v. p. 65.

leisure to her inhabitants for works of piety and genius, and prevented them from adding to the sumptuous structures of their ancestors any great example of that superlative beauty or richness which characterizes the architecture of England at this period.

The time now arrived, when this beautiful species of architecture, which had been successfully cultivated for the space of three centuries, and which has left fabrics that are still the boast and wonder of the principal cities of Europe, was no longer to be practised; a new æra in the arts was arising in Italy; the gothic manner in painting, sculpture, and building, began to disappear, and a taste for imitating the works of antiquity was universally diffused. The Italian artists, struck with the noble remains by which they were surrounded, had for some time laboured to throw off the fantastic style of the middle ages; gothic architecture, from various causes, had been practised among them with less effect than in other parts of Europe, and

they were possessed of better models to excite and assist them in restoring the taste of ancient Rome. Brunaleschi was the first who endeavoured to reform his countrymen in this respect, and the great minds which were devoted to the arts in the fifteenth century, produced a total revolution in all their branches. Painting and sculpture soon arrived at excellence, but although the Gothic mode in building was laid aside, the style by which it was succeeded had little or no pretensions to classical beauty. Its chief and characteristic feature consisted in carved imitations of the Arabesque designs with which Raffael had adorned the galleries of the Vatican; an idea which he derived from the frescoes in the baths of Livia and of Titus. The richness and variety of these fanciful decorations were well suited to the eyes of those who had been too much accustomed to a profusion of ornament to relish at once a purer and more simple taste. The political intercourse which at that time connected

France and Italy, facilitated the transmission of these innovations, and the reign of Louis XII was marked by the total abandonment of the Gothic manner, and the adoption of the new, which at the beginning of the sixteenth century was successfully practised by a numerous and able school of French artists.[a]

[a] Appendix CC.

AN

HISTORICAL SURVEY,

&c. &c.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

THE ABBEY CHURCH OF ST. GERMAIN DES PREZ.

First Church founded in honour of the Relics of St. Vincent, in 557—Description of it—Takes the name of St. Germain—Pillaged and burnt by the Normans—Rebuilt by Abbot Morard in 990—New Cloister 1227—Refectory and Virgin's Chapel by Pierre de Montereau, 1244—Repairs and Alterations 1644—Original Character and present State of the Building.

THE history of the abbey of St. Germain begins with a curious instance of a treaty of the sixth century. Childebert having declared war against Teudis king of the Visigoths, and overrun the kingdom of Arragon, invested Zaragoza with his troops, and reduced its inhabitants to the last extremity: before how-

ever they opened their gates to the enemy, these unfortunate people determined to implore Divine assistance, and for this purpose they made a solemn procession round the walls of the city, chanting litanies and carrying the shirt of St. Vincent, who having been their fellow countryman, they flattered themselves would be interested in their situation. The procession attracted the attention of the French camp, and it was immediately judged that the besieged had some stratagem in view for their relief. A peasant, who was seized in endeavouring to escape from the town, and conducted into the presence of Childebert, explained the cause of this unusual appearance, and declared the reliance of the citizens in the efficacy of the sacred shirt. The French princes were so struck by this, that they directly granted them peace upon the following conditions: First, that Arianism should be extirpated from Spain, and secondly, that the shirt of St. Vincent should be sur-

rendered to the French.[a] Satisfied with this achievement,[b] Childebert returned in triumph to Paris, carrying with him the holy shirt and a large cross which he had taken at Toledo. Soon after his arrival, St. Germain, the bishop of Paris, persuaded him to build a church in honour of these sacred trophies. The site was chosen in a meadow on the banks of the Seine, near the metropolis, in which it is said some remains of a temple of Isis still existed.[c] The church was begun about the year 557, and finished in 558; Childebert added a monastery to it, over which St. Germain appointed Droctovius the first abbot.

The church is described in terms of con-

[a] Hist. de l'Abbaye Royale de St. Germain des Prez par Dom. Jacques Bouillart, No. I. i. Greg. Tur. Hist. France, III. c. 10.

[b] The story is related with more probability in Gest. Reg. France, c. 26, and Aimoin, Hist Lib. II. c. 2. It appears from these, that Childebert having pressed the inhabitants of Saragossa with a long siege, and wishing to retire without dishonour, sent for the bishop, and demanded of him the relics of St. Vincent, preserved in the cathedral, as the price of withdrawing his army. The bishop immediately delivered up the holy shirt, and the French king returned with his trophy to Paris.

[c] Appendix DD.

siderable magnificence. The cruciform shape is said to have been adopted in honour of the cross of Toledo; the fabric was sustained by large marble columns, the ceiling was gilt, the walls painted on a gold ground, the pavement composed of rich mosaic, and the roof externally covered with gold: in consequence of which profusion of splendour it was called St. Germain *le dorè*. An altar was placed at each extremity of the edifice, and an oratory dedicated to St. Symphorien was erected by St. Germain, on the southern side of the entrance, in which he was afterwards buried by his particular desire, and on the northern side another was raised in honour of St. Peter.[a] However we may be inclined to suspect exaggeration in some parts of this description, especially as it was written after the church had been twice burnt by the Normans;[b] in

[a] Bouillart, Hist. I. 5.

[b] This description is given by Gislemare, a monk of the abbey, who lived at the end of the ninth century. C'est à dire, says Felibien, après que les Normands y avoient dejâ mis le feu deux fois. Hit. de Paris, I. 27.

most of its particulars it is by no means irreconcileable with the authentic accounts of the religious buildings of that period, which we have already described.[a] It was probably of no great extent, but though rude and barbarous in taste, it might still be gaudy and brilliant; the columns were perhaps of stone instead of marble,[b] and the gilded ceiling was probably confined to the apsis, as there can be little doubt that the body of the church was covered, as was usual, with the naked timbers and frame-work of the roof, which on the outside might be decorated with tiles of gilt bronze. It is certain, although lead was more commonly used, that this expensive ornament was not unknown in France at this time, and the title of St. Germain le dorè, may dispose us to believe that it was adopted in the present instance.

The period at which the church acquired the name of St. Germain is doubtful; it was not at any rate till after the death of the

[a] See Part I. c. 3. [b] Appendix EE.

founders. At first it was styled indifferently the church of the Holy Cross, or of St. Vincent, or both. St. Germain, in his deed of donations, adds the name of St. Stephen; and Childebert, in his charter, besides these, mentions at least a dozen other saints, whose relics were preserved in the abbey. The ceremony of dedication was performed on the 23d of December 558, a short time before the death of that monarch, who was buried near the high altar at the eastern end of the building.

A writing containing a donation of Bertram, bishop of Mans, in which this church is called the New Building of Chilperic, has induced a belief that it was rebuilt in so short a time as twenty years after its original foundation,[a] which is very improbable. It seems more likely that Chilperic reconstructed the oratory of St. Symphorien,[b] and perhaps

[a] Bouil. Hist. I. 8.

[b] Bouillart produces some strong arguments in favour of this opinion, in his Response aux Remarques, &c. which is subjoined to his history, p. 307.

made some further additions or improvements; but the question is of little moment.

Soon after the advancement of Pepin to the throne of France, it was proposed to him by Lantfroy, abbot of St. Vincent, to give a more honourable sepulture to the body of St. Germain, by transferring it from the chapel of St. Symphorien, into the choir of the church: the king approved the design, and desired to be present at the ceremony. The translation took place on the 25th of July, 754. On the preceding day the tomb of the saint was opened, and the body conveyed to the end of the nave of the church, where it remained during the night, which was passed by the convent in prayer and psalms of thanksgiving: in the morning the king arrived, accompanied by his son Charles [le Magne], who was then but twelve years old, attended by the bishops and nobles of his court, and a vast concourse of people. Pepin himself, and the chief persons of the assembly, assisted in carrying the body to

the grave which was prepared for it, behind the altar of the Holy Cross, in the eastern part of the building; and at the close of the ceremony he made several grants of lands, in the neighbourhood of Paris, to the abbey.[a] Miracles are said to have been wrought on this important occasion, and it is added by the Monkish historian,[b] that Charlemagne used afterwards to take great pleasure in relating them, with all their particulars. From the period of this translation it is supposed that the name of St. Germain came to be generally received as the distinctive title of the church and monastery.[c]

The Normans, about the year 845, made a dreadful irruption into France; an army of them, led by Regner, arrived in sixty vessels at the mouth of the Seine, where they landed without resistance, and proceeded in their course of devastation towards Paris, burning towns and churches, and committing

[a] Bouil. Hist. II. 1, 2. [b] Gislemare.
[c] Appendix FF.

every other act of barbarity. Upon the first alarm of their approach the monks of St. Germain opened the tomb of their saint, and retired with his body to Coulaville, in Brie, a village belonging to the abbey. From this moment till the year 888, the Normans made continual ravages around Paris, which they besieged in 884 with great fury, but were repulsed by the valour of the inhabitants, directed by Eudes and Gozlin, the count[a] and bishop of the place: at length returning for the fifth time in 888, they were totally defeated by Eudes, who from the infancy of the heir to the throne, and the distressed situation of France, had been elected king by the nobles of Neustria.[b] A treaty of peace

[a] After the residence of the kings at Paris, the administration of justice and the defence of the city were intrusted to the counts; they combined the functions which were exercised by the provost and governor in modern times; the office became hereditary about 936, which occasioned the appointment of viscount, who executed the former duties of the counts: in 1032 Count Odo dying without children, the dignity was united to the crown. Felibien, Hist. de Paris, Liv. II. 16. III. 24.

[b] Bouil. Hist. II. 10 & seq.

was concluded in 911 by Charles the Simple, who had succeeded to the government, with Rollo the Norman chief, who being baptized by Franco Archbishop of Rouen, was acknowledged Duke of Normandy, and received the hand of Gisle, the daughter of the king, in marriage.[a]

Previous to this event the abbey of St. Germain had suffered severely; it had been frequently pillaged, and three times burnt: besides which, the revenues of the abbacy had been taken from it, and from 923 to 960 were possessed by laymen.[b] In process of time, however, the monks regained their privileges, and in 990 Morard, a man of talents and public spirit, was appointed to the office of abbot; perceiving that his church required great repairs, those that had taken place since its ruin by the Normans, having been hastily and slightly executed, he resolved to

[a] Marole's Hist. p. 133.

[b] Bouil. Hist. II, 30, during this interval the abbey was governed by deans.

pull it down entirely and rebuild it from the foundations; in this design he was assisted by the munificence of Robert the Pious, and he had the satisfaction of completing the structure, nearly as it exists at present, before his death, which happened in 1014.[a] We learn from the inscription,[b] which was formerly legible on his tomb, that he added to the church a tower containing a bell.

It is remarkable, that the dedication of the new fabric did not take place till the year 1163, when it was performed with peculiar solemnity by Alexander III, who had at that time taken refuge in France. He was attended by twelve cardinals, and a great number of bishops and clergy, from the principal states of Europe; the procession moved three times round the interior and exterior of the church, sprinkling the walls with holy water. The high altar was then consecrated in honour of the Holy Cross, and the Martyrs St. Stephen and St. Vincent; the pope stand-

[a] Bouil. Hist. III. 2. [b] Appendix GG.

ing opposite the centre of it, and a bishop at each corner, who, dipping their fingers in holy oil, marked it in those several places with the sign of the cross. The relics were deposited by the pope beneath the altar, while the Bishop of Ostia, and three other prelates, dedicated some of the chapels. After the ceremony was concluded the pope proceeded to the meadow without the walls of the abbey, and in an address to the people publicly confirmed several valuable privileges of the convent.[a]

The old cloister, which was greatly decayed, was taken down in 1227, and another completed in the course of the same year by the abbot Eudes.[b]

A new refectory was commenced by the abbot Simon in 1236,[c] and in 1244 the grand chapel of the Virgin was undertaken, during the government of Hugue d'Issy.[d] These exquisite specimens of Gothic architecture

[a] Bouil. Hist. III. 20.
[b] Ib. Hist. III. 48.
[c] Ib. III. 52.
[d] Ib. III. 54.

were built from the designs of Pierre de Montereau, and are remarkable examples of his extraordinary taste and skill.[a] The chapter-house, and the beautiful chamber which adjoins it, were constructed about this time, over which the abbot Gerard began to erect the dormitory in 1273: the prior's lodging, and some other parts of the monastery, are works of the same period.[b] The monks of St. Germain continued to sleep in their dormitory, according to the rule of St. Benedict, till about the year 1513, when the more convenient reform of separate bed rooms was introduced.

At the beginning of the war with the English, in 1368, Charles V sent an order to the abbot Richard, desiring him to build new walls and towers, and to put the abbey in a state of defence, which he performed with great alacrity.[c]

A brazen eagle for the choir, and a new

[a] See Part II. c. vii. [b] Bouil. Hist. III. 63.
[c] Ib. IV. 9. See also Pl. IX.

shrine for the relics of St. Germain, were executed about the year 1408, by some skilful artists of Paris, employed by the abbot William. The shrine was composed of gold, silver, brass, and precious stones, formed into the shape of a Gothic church. The brazen front of the high altar, which was made in 1236, was re-cast and gilt at this time, and probably by the same workmen.[a] The altars of the chapels, which, according to the ancient custom, stood insulated, and were open behind for the reception of relics, were placed close to the walls, by order of the abbot William V, about the year 1528, and were re-consecrated in consequence of this change.[b] A new cloister was erected in 1555, and in the course of the next year the high altar, which had been dedicated by Alexander III, was destroyed to erect another in the taste of the sixteenth century; upon opening this venerable monument, the monks anxiously looked for the shirt of St. Vincent,

[a] Bouil. Hist. IV. 14. [b] Ib. V. 5.

the pious gift of Childebert, but the only thing they discovered was a glass phial filled with relics, which were reduced to powder, and a few bones, which they believed to be those of St. Stephen and St. Vincent, deposited by the pope on the day of consecration.[a]

The church seems to have been greatly out of repair about the year 1579,[b] but the consternation which the Huguenots spread throughout France,[c] prevented the monks for some time from attending to the state of their buildings. After the public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, however, by Henry IV, in 1592, several repairs and alterations were made in the abbey,[d] and in 1644 the restoration of the church was undertaken. It was now in a most dilapidated and dangerous condition: the nave was covered in some parts with the remains of the broken ceiling, and in others only by the titles of the roof. The pavement was so sunk that

[a] Ib. V. 12. [b] Bouil. Hist. V. 20.
[c] Appendix HH. [d] Ib. V. 26.

it was necessary to descend into it by steps, and the vaulting of the transept threatened to fall in; many of the windows were built up, the capitals of the pillars were defaced, and the walls covered with dirt, and in several places had lost their plaister. The whole of these deficiencies were repaired in the course of two years at the expence of the convent. The nave was for the first time vaulted with stone, and the vaulting of the transept renewed; the pillars were ornamented with composite capitals, some of the windows enlarged, the walls refreshed with plaister and faced, those of the transept rebuilt of stone, with windows of greater dimensions, and a new door to the south; the roof of the nave and transept was covered with slate, and an alteration was made in the disposition of the choir, the fabric of which appears to have been the only part of the church which had been kept in sufficient repair.[a] These works were accomplished in 1646, and in

[a] Ib. V. 41. Felibien. Hist. de Paris, Tom. II. liv. xxvii. 77.

this state has this venerable structure remained to the present times.

Its original character has been little affected by the changes which it has undergone, and it still presents a striking and curious exhibition of the architecture of France at the beginning of the eleventh century. The building is considerable, but the exterior possesses no remarkable feature, and excites no other interest than is derived from a knowledge of its antiquity. Within, it is low, mean, and badly lighted; and though it may shew less rudeness, it has none of the majesty of our Norman churches. The west end is terminated by a tower, besides which two others, a northern and a southern, are situated in the angles formed by the body of the church with the east sides of the transepts. The western tower is thought by many French antiquaries to be part of the edifice of Childebert.[a] Bouillart, the historian of the ab-

[a] Some have even carried its antiquity still higher, and supposed it a remain of the Temple of Isis! Felib. Hist. Paris, I. 32.

bey, is of this opinion. By others it has been considered of the age of Pepin and Charlemagne; all that can be determined with certainty is, that it is older than Morard's church; a fact which may be discovered from the difference of the stone and its ruder construction: indeed as to this point there is no dispute: with regard to the question whether it was built in the reign of Childebert, or later, (since we know that the French erected stone towers to their churches in the eighth century;[a] and as we have no good authority that they were in use in the sixth,) it is most reasonable to coincide with those who place its foundation in the time of Pepin and Charlemagne.

The statues with which the portal of this tower is decorated, have also been an object of speculation among antiquaries;[b] some, as in the former case, deciding them to be of the age of Childebert, and others of Charle-

[a] See Part I.

[b] See Response aux Remarques, &c. annexed to Bouillart's History.

magne; but in arguing this point, they seem to have fallen into the strange mistake of supposing that the tower itself, and the ornaments of its gate, must necessarily have the same date; and that if the figures can be proved to represent the family of Childebert, or of Charlemagne, it follows that they were placed there by those monarchs; a reasoning which can never be admitted as conclusive, and which we may be able to show, in the present instance, is in all probability erroneous. The portal, which is the subject of debate, was unfortunately destroyed during the late revolution,[a] until which period it remained in good preservation:[b] now it appears next to an impossibility, that a gate ornamented with eight large statues, a gate too of a place of worship, a circumstance so peculiarly calculated to excite the destructive rage of Vandalism, and which actually

[a] An accurate representation of it is given in Bouillart's History.

[b] Tout entier et bien conservé. Lenoir. Musée, p. 91.

did excite that of the Vandals of the eighteenth century, should have escaped untouched from the still more sweeping fury of the barbarians of the eighth; by whom the neighbourhood of Paris was invaded five successive times, and who frequently pillaged, and three times burnt this very church. These considerations, notwithstanding it seems ascertained that two of the figures are of the family of Childebert, must incline us to believe, that this portal was the work of the abbot Morard, who, from his respect to the memory of the founder, might place his statue there with those of his father and brother: or, it is still more probable, that finding some mutilated statues of St. Germain and the family of Childebert remaining on the front of the ancient church, he might have ordered that the new portal should be ornamented with figures of the same persons. In this manner, when the refectory was rebuilt by Pierre de Montereau, an old statue of Childebert above the door

was replaced by a new one.[a] The miserable taste[b] of these figures, on which is grounded an argument for their high antiquity, applies equally well to the sculpture of the eleventh as to that of the sixth century: when therefore we take into consideration the fury of the Normans, the exposed situation of the statues,[c] and their perfect state at the time of the revolution, we can scarcely assign them an earlier date than that of Morard's church. We may observe too, in confirmation of this opinion, that the capitals of the columns which separate the different figures, are, in some instances, rude imitations of the Corinthian order, and in others a grotesque mixture of birds, griffins, and flowers, very similar to those of the interior of the

[a] Bouil. Hist. III. 51. [b] Gout pitoyable.

[c] Felibien, speaking of the tomb of Childebert, Hist. Par. I. 32, observes, "Il est plus que probable qu'il ne fut pas plus respecté dans les ravages des Normans que tant d'ornemens magnifiques dont l'eglise mesme étoit decorée." This reasoning applies with greater force to the statues of the portal, which were more exposed to their fury than any other ornaments of the church.

building. It is also worthy of remark, that the whole portal, with its statues of kings with disks or nimbes behind their heads, bears a close resemblance to that of the cathedral of Chartres, which was certainly erected in the eleventh century.

We discover from the epitaph of Morard, that in addition to the church he constructed a tower containing a bell: the claim of that at the western end of the building to an higher antiquity seems indisputable, and of the two others, it is probable, as Bouillart suggests, that Morard raised that on the north side of the church near the dormitory.[a] The southern tower appears to have been erected for the sake of uniformity, by some of his successors, during the eleventh century; the upper stories of all of them are evidently of a later date, and from their narrow pointed windows, it may be judged, that they were finished in the course of the succeeding century; perhaps by the abbots

[a] Bouil. Hist. III. 2.

Thibaud or Hugues de Monceaux, in whose time the church was dedicated.[a]

It is not difficult to distinguish the remains of Morard's building from the alterations of subsequent periods. The lower walls of the choir and nave, the eight eastern chapels, most of the columns and arches of the nave, and all the columns and arches of the choir, are undoubtedly parts of this ancient structure. The most material changes which it has since undergone consist in the vaulting the choir, which Bouillart thinks took place in the fourteenth century;[b] and the vaulting the nave, and the rebuilding nearly the whole of the transept, which we have already related, was executed about the middle of the seventeenth.

It has been remarked, that the interior of the church is low and gloomy, being principally lighted by small windows resembling those of our Saxon buildings, but the columns

[a] Felibien. His. de Paris, Liv. IV. 70.

[b] Bouil. Hist. p. 310.

and arches, which form the chief features, are well worth attention, particularly those of the choir, which have remained unaltered since the time of Morard: their general proportions, and those of the capital to the shaft, nearly approach the Roman standard for the Corinthian order, which is in many of them closely imitated: others exhibit a sort of arabesque composition of griffins and birds,[a] still however retaining the Corinthian leaves and volutes, and each is correctly finished with astragals and an abacus. Here columns support a series of round arches, except in the semi-circular arcade[b] at the eastern end of the church, where they are *pointed* in consequence of the arrangement of the pillars, which being placed in the bow nearer each other than where the colonnade proceeds in a straight direction, the arches which rise from them, when brought to an

[a] An engraving of one of these capitals is given in Mus. des Mon. Fran. Pl. 60.

[b] Le rond point.

equal height with those of a round shape, become necessarily pointed; and this is among a number of instances where the POINTED ARCH *was used from accident and necessity before it became an object of taste.*[a]

This venerable fabric, so interesting to the history of the arts, was converted at the beginning of the revolution into a manufactory of salt-petre, but since the re-establishment of religion, it has been restored to its proper use; and although the buildings of the monastery are destined to destruction, its preservation is secured by its being appointed a parish church of the metropolis.

[a] The same circumstance occurs in the crypt of St. Denis. See Part II. c. 3. In the choir of the church of La Charitè sur Loire, and at the east end of Canterbury cathedral, built between 1180 and 1185, where "the arches are some circular, others mitred; for the distances between the pillars here diminishing gradually as we go eastward, the arches, being all of the same height, are mitred (i.e. pointed), to comply with this fancy, so that the angles of the eastern ones are very acute." Gostling's Canterbury, p. 224.

CHAP. II.

THE ABBEY OF ST. GENEVIEVE.

The Church founded by Clovis, and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul—Subsequently dedicated to St. Genevieve—Rebuilt by Stephen of Tournay, in 1177—Description of the Building.

An island on the Seine, surrounded by forests and marshes, was naturally seized upon as a place of security in early barbarous ages. In this place, and probably from these motives, the ancient Celts founded a town, which has since become the capital of the French empire. Its small and simple original did not extend beyond what is called L'Isle de la Cité, which still retains the metropolitan church, and palace of justice, the ancient residence of the counts of Paris.[a] It seems however to have been considerably increased under the Romans; many of the emperors, particularly Julien, carried their troops into

[a] Felibien. Disc. prelim. 4.

winter quarters there;[a] and from the remains of ancient baths,[b] as well as other circumstances, it appears that an addition to the city had been made on the southern bank of the river, and probably in other places.

After the conversion and triumph of Clovis, he brought his treasures to Paris, which he chose for his residence and the capital of his kingdom. At first, perhaps, he resided in the palace of the Thermæ, or baths, which had been inhabited by the emperors Julian, Valentinian, and Gratian; but he is related to have afterwards founded a palace for himself and his court, on the rising ground near the southern suburb of the city; and at the same time he erected a church adjoining to it in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, where he was interred, though it was not entirely finished at his death, A.D. 511.

[a] Felib. Liv. I. 7. et seq.

[b] Il est vrai que le tems ne nous a conservè de ces anciens monumens qu'un morçeau à demi ruiné d'un fort grand edifice qu'on appelloit autrefois le Palais des Thermes proche les Mathurins. Felib. I. 8.

This pious work he is said in his epitaph to have undertaken upon the persuasions of Saint Clote, or Clotilde, his wife, and "Madame Sancte Genevieve," a lady[a] whose legend abounds with miracles and austerities, and who afforded the Parisians such ample proofs of her protecting power when alive, as to induce their posterity to trust to the efficacy of her dead body for ages afterwards. This precious relic was deposited under the choir of the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, or, as it was often called, of the Holy Apostles; but a long and splendid course of miracles operated by it, gradually undermined those ancient titles, and (as was the case with the neighbouring abbey of St. Germain des Prez) at length by common consent it obtained the name of St. Genevieve.

During the ravages of the Normans in the

[a] St. Genevieve is said to have been born at Nanterre in 420, and many wonderful particulars are related of her life (Millin. Tom. V. p. 60): her name is probably a corruption from Janua Nova; and her existence, as well as her history, is supposed by many to be a monkish fable.

ninth century, this edifice suffered together with every other in the neighbourhood; and it is curious to remark, that the holy body of the Saint was not permitted by the monks to afford protection to its peculiar sanctuary, but was carried by them within the walls of the city, where it reposed, and diffused around it an imaginary security.[a] In the meantime its deserted church was burnt by the Normans, which misfortune is said to have been three times repeated.[b]

After the establishment of the Normans in Neustria by the peace, A.D. 911, a general repair and re-building took place among the churches which their ravages had destroyed. The church of St.Genevieve was repaired by Robert the Pious, at the beginning of the eleventh century; he also added to it a cloister, which was demolished in the reign of Francis I. It appears, however, that this repair by K. Robert was slight and incon-

[a] Felib. Lib. III. 6. Ib. 10.
[b] Felib. Lib. II. 59. A.D. 846, 857, 892.

siderable, since some writers scarcely notice it:[a] and we learn, that in the twelfth century the church was in so ruinous a state, as to determine the Abbot Stephen, known by the title of Stephen of Tournay,[b] who was elected, A.D. 1177, to undertake its complete restoration. It still exhibited traces of the fire of the Normans, and the walls are greatly damaged in several places; these he repaired, and vaulted the church with stone as it remains at present. He also restored the chapter-house, cloister, the great chapel of the Virgin, and all the offices of the monastery: having completed these works, and obtained several privileges in favour of his abbey, he was elected bishop of Tournay, A.D. 1192.

This abbey-church is perhaps the most interesting and venerable relic in France, since it

[a] Felibian seems to thinks it too trivial to record, vide Lib. III. 38.

[b] The life and letters of this abbot were published by the Pere Claude de Moulinet, canon regular of St. Genevieve, A.D. 1679.

is highly probable that the disposition of it, and some part of the existing walls, may be of the age of Clovis: its size and shape, without transepts, but with a circular termination, favour this supposition. It seems certain, both from history and from observation, that the church was not rebuilt by Robert the Pious, or by Abbot Stephen, but merely repaired by them. The small size, as well as shape of it, are decidedly in favour of this supposition; for we cannot conceive that so illustrious a church as that of St. Genevieve, would have been rebuilt in the eleventh or twelfth centuries on so small a scale and without transepts, which were then every where adopted in France. The façade is only remarkable for its great nakedness; it consists of three pointed arch portals, ornamented with small coupled columns, the capitals of which are composed of ivy leaves; above the centre door is a plain rose window, the other windows are long and lancet shaped;

the whole is surmounted by a massive and plain pediment.

The three portals which exist at present, cannot be those which were built by the canon Mignard, in the time of Hugh Capet, but were most likely erected after the repair of the church was finished by the successor of Stephen. Remains of painting are still visible in the arches over the doors. The interior of the church is mean and gloomy, lighted only by narrow windows. An old column near the door, on the north side, leading to St. Stephen's church, is supposed to be a remnant of the original fabric. The nave is separated from the aisles by eight columns, four of which are larger than the others, and their capitals are completely Lombard; a mixture of leaves, birds, &c. in a similar style, though not bearing the same classical proportion to the shaft, as those of St. Germain des Prez: the capitals of the four smaller columns are ornamented

with acanthus leaves. Upon these capitals rest clusters of small pillars and pointed arches, which support the roof; these were put up by abbot Stephen, a century later. The mosaics, which decorated the church of Clovis, were removed by Abbot Stephen. The tower is of different dates; the lower part, of the eleventh century; the upper, except the spire, was built by Thibaut,[a] precentor of the church, in the twelfth century.

This monument is valuable, not only from its exhibiting the exact shape of the early French churches, but also from affording a specimen of the narrow lancet window, which is very rare in France. It is, however, too mixed and mean a structure to

[a] Millin, Tom. V. p. 58. Felib. vie des Architects, 212. Millin seems to think, that the present façade was the work of Robert the Pious, in the eleventh century, but the pointed arches are against this supposition; and if it be true, as he afterwards mentions, that the mosaics of the time of Clovis were existing when Stephen repaired it, it is impossible it should have been rebuilt by K. Robert.

afford a fair specimen of the early Gothic of that country.

A central school is now established in the abbey of St. Genevieve, but the church itself seems consigned to decay.

CHAP. III.

ST. DENYS.

Foundation of the church by Dagobert.—Its restoration by Suger in 1140; repairs under Eudes Clement 1231, and Mathieu de Vendosme in 1281.—Description of the church, and first instance of the pointed arch.—Remarks on the comparative state of Gothic architecture in France and England.—Present situation of the church.—The crosses on the road to St. Denis from Paris.

The foundation of this abbey is as usual involved in the obscurity and fables of antiquity; it is well known, that Saint Dionysius, or Denis, has long enjoyed the reputation of having been the first preacher of the Gospel to the Gauls; and it is also related, that he crowned his labours by a glorious martyrdom; but where and when these things happened seems to be a matter of controversy among the monks themselves. We shall therefore content ourselves with merely giving the general outline of what they agree to consider as established history.

The[a] persecutors of St. Denis, fearing the zeal of the Christians should lead them to shew honour to the bodies of their apostle and his fellow martyrs, Rusticus and Eleutherius, commanded that they should be privately conveyed to a distance, and plunged into the Seine. A female, however, named Catalla, who, though a Pagan, had conceived a respect for the remains of these holy men, invited the persons employed on this service to eat in her house; and while they were thus engaged, she ordered her servants to carry off the bodies, and bury them in a field six miles from Paris. She then had the field sown with corn, the better to conceal the place of their sepulture; and after the fury of the persecution had subsided, she erected a monument over their remains. The Christians now flocked to the spot, where, induced by a succession of supposed miracles, they

[a] Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint Denis en France, par Dom Michel Felibien, Religieux Benedictin de la Congregation de St. Maur. Lib. I. p. 1.

erected a church to the honour of the principal martyr.

These events are supposed to have happened about the middle of the third century; in the fifth[a] we have notice of the church having been rebuilt, through the influence of Sainte Genevieve, assisted by Genés, and several other priests of Paris: the place was at that time called Vicus Catholiacensis, or Catulliacus.[b] Some records remain, which seem to prove that a monastery was established here even before the reign of Dagobert, who has generally passed for its founder; but the new existence he gave to it by ample endowments, and by rebuilding it in a more sumptuous manner, certainly affords him a fair claim to the title.[c] He is said, by a writer who is entitled to some credit, to have begun this great work a short time after the death of Clothaire II. when he had succeeded in

[a] Hist. de St. Denis, Tom. I. p. 3. [b] Ib. p. 5.

[c] Hist. de St. Denis, Tom. I. p. 7. The anonymous author of the Gesta Dagoberti Regis; a monk of St. Denis, and who appears to have lived about 150 years after Dagobert.

uniting the states of Neustria and Burgundy with the kingdom of Austrasia, which he had already governed six years. Felibien places its commencement about the year 629. The new church is as usual described in lofty terms: the anonymous author before mentioned, and after him Aimoin, informs us, that no expense was spared to make this edifice the most magnificent in France; that it was executed with consummate art; that it had columns, which, as well as a variety of ornaments and the pavement, were all of marble. The interior was brilliant with gold, jewels, and precious stones, particularly the shrine of the saint, which was executed, at the request of Dagobert, by St. Eloy; whose reputation for skill in the arts, was as great as for the sanctity of his life. S. Oüen has left us a description of this monument: he remarks that it was constructed on the same plan as the tombs of other martyrs, being elevated over the body, and supported by columns of marble; the front very rich with

gold and precious stones. An altar stood before the shrine, its sides formed of pannels of wood, ornamented with golden branches in relief, bearing fruit made of gold and gems; the covering of the top was silver. It is further added by this anonymous monk, that the roof of the building, immediately over the altar, was externally covered with pure silver; but as he did not live till after the roof was destroyed, it will be difficult to credit him in regard to the purity of the metal, though it is probable that the roof of the sanctuary might be covered with brass tiles either silvered or gilt.[a]

Dagobert's church of St. Denis, although erected near a century later than that of Childebert, which was described in the last chapter but one, was probably built much after the same fashion; oblong, with a round termination, having marble columns internally, and a great profusion of mosaic work.

Besides the church, Dagobert built the

[a] See Appendix II.

cloister and offices of the monastery, which he endowed with several rich possessions. [a]In the course of the succeeding century, the church of Dagobert was taken down, and a new one, upon a grander scale, begun to be erected by Pepin, which was completed under his son Charlemagne, and received consecration, in the presence of the court, in the month of February, 775.

While this work was carrying on, an accident happened to one of the artists, named Airard, who, hastening to obey some order of the Abbot Fulbrad, fell from the scaffolding of the tower, but miraculously escaped without the slightest injury. This person is supposed by Felibien, to be represented on one of the gates of the church, where the habit in which he is clothed, and the inscription beneath him, shew that he was (as was usual in those ages) a monk of the abbey.

The Normans, under the command of Regnier, ascended the Seine to Paris about

[a] Hist. St. Den. ii. 10.

the year 846; when the king resolved to protect the sanctuary of his patron saint from violence, and a sum of money induced the invaders to suspend their operations for a time and retire. Shortly afterwards, as might be expected, they returned with a larger force to pursue their career of bloodshed and plunder. France was reduced to the lowest state by these irruptions, till, in 858,[a] the power of the invaders was at such an height, that all the monasteries in the neighbourhood of Paris retired with their relics to distant places of safety. Among others the monks of St. Denis carried their relics to Nogent sur Seine, where they concealed them.[b] The Normans entered the abbey the 20th of October, 865, and continued in it for three weeks; during which time the rich gifts laid up there by so many kings, became the spoil of the pirates; who, as the old monk writes, loaded their vessels with them as freely as if they had been mer-

[a] Hist. St. Den. ii. 28. [b] Ib. ii. 32.

chandise in one of their own ports. Charles carried his court to St. Denis, in 869,[a] and remained there the whole Lent, during which time he caused the monastery to be completely surrounded by a fortification of wood and stone.

[b]It appears that the abbey of St. Denis was very early possessed of lands in England, and that the apostle of France was held in the highest estimation by many of our kings, particularly Edward the Confessor, who made a grant to the abbey of the lands of Tinton,[c] in Oxfordshire, probably by the persuasion of Baldouin, his physician, who was a monk of St. Denis.

In the year 1122, upon the death of Adam, the persecutor of Abelard, Suger was elected abbot. The abilities of this great man soon raised him above the narrow sphere of his cloister, and, after holding many distinguished offices in the preceding reign, he was nomi-

[a] Ib. ii. 34. [b] See Appendix KK.
[c] See Appendix LL.

nated regent of France by Louis VII. upon the departure of that monarch for the Holy land.[a] His political employments, however, do not seem to have withdrawn his attention from the abbey over which he was appointed to preside; for, having already repaired the other parts of it, the dormitory, refectory, the apartments of the pilgrims, and the offices of the monastery, and having rebuilt and embellished the great entrance, he determined on giving a more magnificent air, and more ample dimensions to his church; and, as he was particularly skilled in the science of architecture, he took the direction of the work into his own hands.[b] The extent and nature of his restorations are involved in some degree of obscurity, both from the manner in which they are mentioned in the ancient records,[c] and the subsequent altera-

[a] In the year 1147. [b] Hist. St. Den. iv. 7.

[c] Le Livre de l'Administration Abbatiale de l'Abbé Suger, is written in the first person, as if by Suger himself; but as some of the MSS. bear the name of William, his secretary, it has been conjectured, though apparently with little reason, that he was the

tions which the church underwent in the succeeding century. It appears, however, that his plan did not extend to an entire new fabric; but that having restored the west front and the towers, which were in a more decayed state than the rest of the edifice, he then turned his attention to the interior, for the embellishment of which, he at one time determined to send for marble columns from Rome;[a] but this design was relinquished, upon his finding unexpectedly a vein of stone of superior quality in a quarry near Pontoise. His zeal in the prosecution of this undertaking was warmly seconded by that of the people, particularly of the peasantry, who ran in crowds to assist in transporting the burdens at the command of the abbot. The most experienced and excellent artists were collected from all parts of France, and so active was Suger himself in the superinten-

author of it, as well as the other little tract published by M. Duchesne, Le Livre de la dedicace de l'Eglise de St. Denis, which is written and signed in the same way.

[a] See Appendix MM.

dance of the work, that when wood was wanted for the beams of the roof, and his own carpenters and those of Paris declared that none could be found in that neighbourhood, he is related to have led them into the forest of Chevreuse, and, with his own hand, to have marked the trees proper for the purpose.

A part of the church being completed,[a] Suger invited Hugh, Archbishop of Rouen, and several other prelates, to assist in the dedication, which took place in the year 1140;[b] on this occasion the whole assembly entreating Suger to pursue the work still further, he determined to rebuild the upper

[a] It appears, from the Liv. de l'Adm. Abbatiale, that this first work of Suger consisted in enlarging the nave and widening the front of the church Accessimus igitur ad priorem Valvarum introitum, et deponentes augmentum quoddam quod à Karolo Magno factum perhibebatur, ibidem manum apposuimus, et quemadmodum apparet, et in amplificatione corporis ecclesiæ, et introitus et valvarum triplicatione, turrium et altarium erectione instanter desudavimus cap. xxv. de Ecclesiæ primo augmento.

[b] A record of this date was placed, in gilt letters, over the great entrance.

Annus Millenus et Centenus Quadragenus
Annus erat Verbi quando Sacrata fuit.

end of the church, which is called the Chevet, or round point. When the foundations had been dug, and every thing prepared for erecting the structure, the king, and a vast number of prelates and nobles, on Sunday the 14th of June, 1140, assisted in laying the first stones: they descended into the trenches with the sacred relics, singing the 86th Psalm, "Fundamentum ejus in montibus sanctis;" and it is related that while they were chanting the verse "Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui," many of the company took off their rings, and cast them into the foundations.[a] This work being finished in 1144, it was dedicated with great solemnity on the 11th of June, in the presence of the king, the queen, the queen-mother, and a vast assemblage of prelates, who consecrated the high altar and twenty others; among which it is mentioned, that the altar of the Virgin was consecrated by Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury.

[a] Hist. St. Den. iv. 8.

The author of one of the records before alluded to,[a] asserts that Suger, after he had completed the upper part of the church, in which[b] Felibien thinks that the transept is included, still proceeded in his work; and that, instead of finishing the towers, as he had at first intended, he began to renovate the middle part of the church, so as to make it conform and harmonize with each of the other parts (the chevet and the west front) which he had before renewed. It is probable, therefore, that he, in some measure, renovated the whole church, though he appears to have retained some parts of the ancient structure, particularly the walls, for which he had the highest veneration, believing them to have received the benediction of Christ himself in the time of Dagobert. The death of Suger happened in 1151, after he had governed the abbey twenty-nine years.

[a] Liv. de l'Adm. Abbatiale. Cap. xxix. de continuatione utri usque operis.

[b] Hist. St. Den. iv. 8.

This supposition, that the fabric was not entirely rebuilt, agrees with the accounts given in many ancient records;[a] and a passage[b] in the life of that abbot by the monk William, seems clearly to express, that the church was not a new structure erected from the ground by Suger; but that it was greatly altered by him, and in many parts rebuilt. But a more decisive evidence is derived from the state of decay in which Eudes Clement found the church in 1231,[c] and which induced him, in spite of the superstition that the walls were still regarded with, to undertake the rebuilding of the greater part of it from the ground. St. Louis, and his mother Blanche, assisted him in this design, and we find, in consequence, the arms of Castile and France

[a] Hist. St. Den. iv. 8.

[b] Varias de cunctis regni partibus asciverat artifices; lathomos, lignarios, Pictores, Fabros, Ferrarios vel Fusores, Aurifices quoque et Gemmarios, ut Ligno, Lapide, Auro, Gemmis et omni pretiosâ materiâ Martyrum memoriam exornarent, et ex veteri novam, ex angustâ latissimam, ex tenebrosâ splendidam redderent ecclesiam. Vit. Sugerii. Abbatis, Lib. ii. 9.

[c] Hist. St. Den. v. 2.

united in many parts of the choir and transept. [a]The choir, it appears, was nearly completed under this abbot, and the rest of the new work, which consisted of the transept and nave, was carried on by his successors, and finished under Matthieù de [b]Vendosme, in 1281, who also repaired the other buildings of the abbey, and surrounded it with a wall and towers.

The church of St. Denis is externally a lofty and striking fabric, when seen from the east, the north, or south sides: the height of the windows, the delicacy of the sculpture, and what has been quaintly termed the [c]"flutter of arch buttresses, and abundance

[a] The following notice occurs in the Petite Chronique de St. Denys, mccxxxi. Hoc anno cœpit Odo Abbas renovare capitulum ecclesiæ B. Dionysii Areopagitæ, et perfecit illud usque ad finem chori, hoc excepto quod turris ubi sunt cymbala à parte revestiarii non erat perfecta, nec voltatus erat chorus; sed a parte sancti Hippoliti totum erat perfectum, et etiam voltatum a parte vestiarii.

[b] Hist. St. Den. V. X. This event is also recorded in the Petite Chronique de St. Denys, mcclxxxi. consummatum est novum opus ecclesiæ B. Dionysii a domino Matthæo Abbate.

[c] Expressions of Sir Christopher Wren, in his Parentalia, to denote the peculiarities of the Gothic manner.

of busy work," produce an effect of confused richness and varied light and shade, which forms one of the greatest triumphs of this style of architecture. The west front, however, is deficient in majesty and decoration. The chief portal is arched semicircularly, and adorned with sculpture, but the walls above it are thinly ornamented with ranges of alternate round and pointed arches, in half relief, on little pillars similar to those of Purbeck stone, so frequent in our churches. The height of the towers is unequal, which materially affects the beauty of the fabric; they are crowned with slate spires, and perforated with round-headed windows.

The interior presents a more regular and magnificent prospect; a prospect which cannot fail to remind the English traveller of our grand national receptacle of monuments, though it certainly surpasses it both in the richness and lightness of its architecture.

The abbey of St. Denis as it now stands, contains examples of three æras of French

Gothic Architecture. The first is the most curious, and is perhaps the oldest perfect specimen of ornamented building remaining in France. The lower church beneath the chapel of St. Denis is with good reason decided to have been part of the ancient fabric erected by Pepin and Charlemagne in the eighth century. The rudeness of its architecture, and the effigies of these monarchs sculptured on the capital [a] of one of the columns seem to leave no doubt on this subject. This curious remain, among other illustrations of the history of the art which have been before noticed, affords a more ancient example of that arrangement of columns in the circular arcade which necessarily produces the pointed arch, and which has been already described in the later instance of St. Germain des Prez. The pointed arch, as a characteristic style, arose long afterwards, and probably from a different cause; but it is cer-

[a] See Le Musée des Monumens François, par Percier et Lenoir. Tom. I. Plate 39.

tain that the [a]earliest arches of that shape which occur in the architecture of the middle ages, are to be found, as in this and similar instances, produced by the semicircular arcades at the eastern ends of the ancient Lombard churches.

The great gate[b] claims to be of the time of Charlemagne, and perhaps the mere masonry may be of that antiquity; but there can be no doubt that the decorations and statuary were added afterwards, in the 12th or 13th century.

The chapels of the Chevet, and some part of the eastern arcade of the church, are remains of the work of Suger, to whom must also be attributed the western front.[c] The

[a] The pointed arches in the Chevet of St. Germain des Prez, erected at the beginning of the eleventh century, have been already noticed: another example of the same arrangement is seen in the Benedictine church of La Charité sur Loire, built towards the close of the same century; a curious and interesting monument of Lombard architecture.

[b] Hist. St. Den. Chap. ii.

[c] Lenoir has given two specimens of these, in his Musée des Mon. Français, Pl. 36, 37. Pl. 36, however, which is a mixture

pavement, and the painted glass of the east end, are of the same date. The columns erected by Suger are of the Lombard style; but the pointed arch occurs in every part of his work.

When it is remembered that the works of Suger were all executed before the middle of the 12th century, and that the Chevet of St. Denis was indisputably finished in the year 1144, our belief that the English artists were prior to those of other nations in the use of the pointed arch, must be considerably shaken. No certain instance can be brought forward among the anterior or contemporary buildings of this country, in which the pointed arch was decidedly introduced.[a] All autho-

of the lightest Gothic, with a Moorish pattern, may, with greater probability, be referred to the subsequent alteration of the church in the 13th century.

[a] Bentham, Grose, Warton, &c. and Mr. Milner, who, notwithstanding his eagerness to assert the priority of the English in the discovery of the pointed arch, has not been able to produce an earlier instance of its decided appearance in this country, than the remains of Hyde Abbey, which he supposes to have been built about 1160. Hist. Winch. vol. ii. 152.

rities concur in fixing the reign of Henry II. (that is, after the year 1154), as the earliest æra of the introduction into England of the mixed style of round and pointed arches, which we see practised in Suger's works in France before that period. The first work in which the pointed arch decidedly occurs in this country (for the dubious instance[a] of St. Cross, built in 1132-36, cannot be admitted by any one who wishes to proceed on sure grounds), are the vaults of Archbishop Roger, at York,[b] begun in 1171; the vestibule of the Temple Church, built in 1184;[c] the great western tower[d] of Ely, finished in 1189; the choir[e] at Canterbury, carried on between 1175 and 1180; and the two western towers of Durham which are almost exactly in the same style as Suger's front of St. Denis, erected in 1233.

The nave together with the choir, and the

[a] Appendix, NN. [b] Bentham, Ely, p. 38.
[c] Stowe's Survey, p. 824. [d] Bentham, Ely, p. 37.
[e] Gervase's Hist. apud Decem Scriptores. Col. 1302.

transepts of St. Denis, were built by Eudes Clemont and Matthieu de Vendosme, between the years 1231 and 1281. The works of these abbots form a magnificent structure; not, perhaps, equal to that of Amiens, in lightness and delicacy; but still so light and beautiful, and so grand an example of the magic hardiness of Gothic architecture, that it is not the less admired because the eye has been previously delighted with that exquisite cathedral. The bold and striking elevation which distinguishes the works of the French architects, and to which their lightness is in a great measure to be attributed, is very remarkable in this church, where the nave is 90 feet high and only 39 wide.

The works of Eudes and Matthieu de Vendosme, at St. Denis, afford a further illustration of the superior advances of the French in Gothic architecture. The instance of Amiens, however, is so decisive on this point, that it would be superfluous in this

place to insist upon every additional argument, which is to be derived from a survey of this fabric, and a comparison of it with the contemporary parts of Westminster Abbey.[a] The superior finishing of the buttresses, the pillars, and the tracery, is every where apparent. The windows, however, are so striking a corroboration of what will hereafter be noticed respecting those of Amiens, that they must not remain without some mention. The upper range at St. Denis, which fill up the space between the great arches and the vaulting, and which resemble each other in pattern throughout the whole work of Eudes and Matthieu de Vendosme, are eminently spacious and magnificent; and it may be safely asserted, that none at all similar, or comparable to them, can be adduced from the contemporary buildings of

[a] The eastern part of the old abbey church of Edward the Confessor was taken down, and the new one begun under Henry III. in the year 1245. The choir was finished in 1285. In 1299 the palace and monastery were destroyed, and the church defaced, by fire. The latter was repaired and completed by Edward I. and his successors. Stowe's Survey, p. 845, et seq.

this country. They are each nearly forty feet high, and each is divided by four perpendicular mullions, terminating in arches, which support three six foils or roses. The distance between each is only three feet. Some of these were certainly finished under Eudes Clemont, and were, no doubt, conceived by the architect, whose plan he adopted, and began to carry on in 1231. If these be compared with the more simple combinations of [a]Westminster Abbey, and other contemporary buildings of England, the superior advances of the French architects will be immediately manifest. No instance of broad and magnificent windows occurs in England before the end of Henry the Third's reign, or the beginning of that of Edward the First; but as this subject is treated at large in the account of the cathedral of Amiens, it will not be necessary to enter further into it on this occasion.[b] It

[a] See Appendix OO.

[b] It would be impossible, perhaps, to select two more striking

must, however, be remembered, that the abbey of St. Denis clearly establishes this fact, that the French had decidedly introduced the pointed arch before the middle of the 12th, and had constructed broad and magnificent windows before the middle of the 13th century.

This noble structure was, in 1802, given up to decay. In many parts the vaulting had fallen in, the pavement was totally destroyed, and that part of the painted glass which escaped the ravages of the revolution, had been transported to the Museum of French Monuments, at Paris.

The crosses which were erected on the road between Paris and St. Denis, to mark the places where Philip III. the son of St. Louis, occasionally rested, when he was carrying the remains of his father to be buried

instances of the superiority of the French in the 13th century in the arts of sculpture and decoration, than the tomb of Dagobert, the principal founder of the church; and the door of the southern transept (Mon. Fran. pl. 29. 62); they are both exquisite specimens of taste and richness.

at the abbey, have all been swept away during the revolution. [a]They are said to have much resembled those which were erected[b] a few years later at Waltham and Northampton; their height was forty French feet, and they contained statues, as large as life, of Louis IX. the Count of Nevers, Philip III. and the Count of Clermont, the three last of whom took the principal part in this pious ceremony.

[a] Dr. Smith in his Tour on the Continent, 1786-87.

[b] These crosses were erected by Philip III. in 1285. The crosses of Edward the First, in England, were put up after the death of his Queen Eleanor, which happened in 1296.

CHAP. IV.

THE CATHEDRAL OF NOTRE DAME, AT PARIS,

Founded by Childebert, in 522—The present building begun by Robert the Pious, A. D. 1010.—Continued under Maurice de Sully and the succeeding abbots, and completed in the course of the 14th century.—Examination of the different parts of the building.

THE celebrated cathedral of Notre Dame, which, though the work of several centuries, was principally erected at the close of the twelfth, and during the thirteenth, next demands our attention, as being the next in chronological order. Before, however, I proceed to the history and description of it, I will briefly mention, that it has been a controversy among the Parisian antiquaries, which was the first church founded in their metropolis; and that the most reasonable account seems to be, that St. Stephen's was the mother church, probably established by St. Denis, the apostle of Paris, who is said to have taken the proto martyr for his patron.

After the death of St. Denis, an oratory was erected in honour of him, which still retains his name, and which was most likely the second edifice of this kind erected in Paris. It was not till the sixth century that the foundation of Notre Dame took its origin. It was begun by Childebert, A.D. 522, who caused it to be dedicated to the blessed Virgin; and so powerful was the influence of her name, that it soon prevailed over all the others; and her church, though only third in point of antiquity, became the cathedral of the diocese of Paris.

Fortunatus, a contemporary poet, gives a description of this ancient church. In this account, the size of the windows, and the number of the marble columns, which he fixes at thirty, 'ter decem ornata columnis,' are the chief objects of his admiration. From this it should appear to have been a considerable structure; the size might exceed, but the general character of the building was no doubt the same as that of Childebert's church

of St. Germain, and which is sufficiently confirmed by the happy preservation of the original shape of St. Genevieve. After that extensive destruction which the Normans brought upon France in the ninth and tenth centuries, it was the necessary office of the succeeding princes and prelates to restore the ruined fabrics of religion, upon the revival of which, their own dignity and the public devotion so much depended. Among these, Robert the Pious particularly distinguished himself; and it is to his reign we may generally refer the most ancient parts of the churches within and around the metropolis. He laid the foundations of the present cathedral in the year 1010; but after his death it was neglected, so that it does not appear to have been much raised above the ground till the year 1165, when a liberal and munificent prelate filled the see of Paris, Maurice de Sully, who may be considered as the principal author of the present edifice. He destroyed the old church of Childebert,

which probably stood on the same ground as the present choir, and around which King Robert's more extensive foundations had been laid.[a] The first stone was placed by Pope Alexander III. who at that time had taken refuge in Paris; and in the year 1181, the eastern part had so far advanced that it was consecrated by Henry, the Pope's legate, and by the bishop himself, who died the same year, and was buried in the church of St. Victor, where his epitaph remained till the revolution.

Odo de Sully succeeded, and carried on the work with great zeal till his death, in 1208. Pierre de Nemours, who died in 1220, probably finished the nave and the west front, and his successors of the thirteenth century completed the necessary addition of the transepts: that to the south was begun in 1257,[b] and is said to be built in part upon

[a] The church of St. Remigius, at Rheims, seems to have been built in this same manner in 1049. Hist. Nat. Rem. 89.

[b] This is discovered by the following inscription on the stones of the southern portal:

the site of the ancient church of St. Stephen, which was destroyed on the occasion: this is thought the more probable, as the life and martyrdom of that saint are represented on its principal entrance. These are the leading æras of this great work; but it also appears, that the building of chapels continued during the greater part of the fourteenth century, as we discover from acts, charters of foundations, &c. as well as from their sculpture and ornaments. Thus if we date the commencement of the present structure from the time of Bishop Maurice, in 1168, we shall find that its completion was atchieved by the labour and perseverance of two centuries. After all, it affords more scope for remark than for admiration; the

Anno Domini MCCLVII. mense Februario Idus ij
Hoc fuit incæptum Christi genetricis honore
Kallensi Lathomo vivente Johanne Magistro.

Instances of the transepts being erected after the choir and nave are not uncommon. See the account of the rebuilding of St. Remigius's church at Rheims. Met. Hist. Tom. ii. 89. And of the church of St. Nicaise, in the same city, vide Epit. Chron. S. Nicai. Remensis, 637.

whole is particularly heavy; the exterior, from too great an excess of ornament in some parts, and a want of it in others; from the thickness and plainness of the buttresses, and principally from the want of relief and finish in the towers. The interior is heavy, from the mixture of styles; the body of the church is divided into *five* ailses, by *four* ranges of Lombard columns, a species of grandeur which never crossed the channel. These columns are, however, of the most gross and clumsy proportions, and the gothic work in general is without ornament and beauty; its size, therefore, is the principal source of magnificence and effect it can boast of.

Robert the Pious, when he laid the foundations in 1010, most probably prepared the Lombard columns which at present support the building; if not, they were prepared by some of his successors, some time before the year 1165; when it is certain Gothic taste prevailed, from the eastern part of this

church, which is recorded to have been the work of Maurice de Sully. The west front is said to have been completed during the reign of Philip Augustus; and I find many reasons for supporting the opinion that this was the case, though it may be doubted whether it was accomplished quite so early as the end of the twelfth century: the round arch ornamented with the Lombard zig-zag above the marigold windows, shews it to be an early Gothic building; but the chief argument is derived from the Galerie des Rois, a series of niches containing statues of the kings of France, from Childebert, the original founder of the church, to Philip Augustus. The eastern end, which is triagonal and very plain, was probably one of the first Gothic structures in France; this plainness, from a proper regard to uniformity, was maintained in the subsequent parts of the building, excepting in the chapels, which are of a later date. The west front, it must be remembered, is a striking proof that the

French, at the end of the twelfth century, had added a richness to their Gothic which we, if it was not imported, were at least half a century later in producing. It is impossible, by mere description, to convey an adequate idea of the three marigold windows of this cathedral, which still retain their painted glass, and which are not only its most admirable ornaments, but the most magnificent I have any where seen.

CHAP. V.

RHEIMS CATHEDRAL AND ABBEY CHURCH OF ST. NICAISE.

The Cathedral founded by Ebo, A. D. 818.—Burnt, A. D. 1210.—Rebuilt and consecrated in 1241.—Survey of the merits of the building.—Architect, Robert de Coucy.—Comparison of the progress of architecture in the two countries, founded on the forms of the windows, and style of sculpture.—St. Nicaise supposed to have been founded in the 4th century.—Rebuilt in 1056, and again in 1229.—Methods used by the monks to obtain funds to answer the expense of building.—Description of the church, its lightness and elegance characteristic of an advanced state of architecture on comparison with the cathedral of Notre Dame.

THE CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS.

The cathedral of Rheims has long been celebrated as the most beautiful in France,[a] and this pre-eminence has not only been fully allowed, but even extended by the few

[a] Decor et majestas præclarissimæ hujus structuræ omnem scribendi peritiam longè superat, ob elegantiam omnibus est admirationi, atque sibi similem non habet in tota Galliâ.——Met. Remensis Hist. Dom. Guliel. Marlot S. Nicasii Rem. Prioris, Tom. ii. p. 470.

of our travellers[a] who are qualified to form a judgment on the subject. I am particularly happy in having been able to procure an excellent representation of the west front of this beautiful fabric, (which is given for a frontispiece to this work) and in meeting with the copious chronicle of the Prior of St. Nicaise, which will afford me sufficient materials for illustrating its dates and history. Leaving however the preaching of St. Remigius, the martyrdom of St. Nicaise, and the tales of more remote antiquity, I proceed at once to the episcopate of Ebo, who, in the year 818 laid the foundations of a new church. The [b]letter of Louis I. is still extant, in which he grants the bishop the walls and gates of the city for materials, and the most ample powers to remove every obstruction in the way of his new edifice: he also sent, according to the request of the

[a] Gray's Letters, p. 70. Dallaway's Anec. of Arts. Walpole's Anec. of Painting, p. 182, 194.

[b] Frodouard, Met. Rem. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 19.

prelate, his own artificer, Rumalde, to superintend and carry on the work, and the greater part of it seems to have been completed within a short time after its foundation. It was decorated with the utmost magnificence of the times, and we read that the pediment (fastigium) of the great entrance was ornamented with the statues of Louis I. Pope Stephen V. and Ebo himself, who was proud to transmit to posterity, by an inscription beneath, that the Pope had consecrated the king of France at Rheims during his episcopacy. [a]It is certain, however, that the cathedral was not entirely finished by Ebo, and that the works were a long time suspended during a dark interval of conspiracies and civil wars. [b]In the year 847, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, obtained from Charles the Bald a renewal of the grants made to his predecessor, and completed the fabric. He seems also to have

[a] Frodouard, lib. iii. cap. 20, et. seq.
[b] Ibid. cap. 23.

added the cloister, and to have enriched the church with a variety of treasures and ornaments, and having called together his suffragan bishops, he consecrated it in the presence of the king with great solemnity, A.D. 862.

This church[a] whose beauty, holiness, and treasures were celebrated with all the fond admiration of those ages, was burnt May 6, A.D. 1210, together with great part of the city of Rheims. From the grant of materials we may learn that it was a stone building, though the roof was probably of wood,[b] and the whole fabric might receive the same[c] sort of damage as the old choir of Canterbury, which after the fire in 1174, it was thought advisable entirely to renew, while the ancient crypt, which had not been hurt, was left unaltered. A similar proceeding

[a] Met Rem. Hist. Marlot. lib. iii. cap. 21.

[b] Auguror fornicem et pilas ligneas fuisse ut et aliarum ecclesiarum, &c. Marlot.

[c] See an account of the burning and rebuilding of the church of Canterbury by the Monk Gervase, Decem Script. col. 1302.

took place in this instance; the crypt of Ebo was left, and the remainder of the year, and a part of the next, was employed in laying the more extensive foundations of a new fabric. [a]When we see that upon the introduction of Gothic architecture, princes and prelates were often tempted to pull down their old churches that they might erect others in the new style, we need not wonder that in the 13th century this damaged edifice should be entirely rebuilt instead of being repaired. Preachers were sent forth to demand the contributions of the faithful throughout the whole province, and it appears that the work was so far advanced, that the altar was dedicated by the archbishop on the 18th of October, 1215. [b]Several bulls and rescripts shew that it was carried on during the succeeding years, and

[a] Felibien, lib. iv. p. 245. Capt. Grose's Preface to his Antiquities.

[b] Chorum ejusdem consecratum fuisse ab Alberico Archiepiscopo xv Cal. Nov. Anno 1215. Met. Rem. Hist. Tom. ii. p. 470.

most writers assert, that it was finished thirty years[a] after its foundation; which agrees entirely with the chronicle of a contemporary author, who relates that the canons of Rheims entered their new choir on the vigil of the nativity of the blessed virgin, in the year 1241. Marlot[b] has apparently good reason for supposing that this finishing merely comprehends the body of the building, and that the ornaments of the grand façade were put up between that time and the English war in 1295, during which interval a continued dispute was kept up between the collectors of St. Nicaise, which was re-building at that time (as we shall hereafter see) and those of the chapter of Rheims. From the records of the church we also learn, that the tower next the archbishop's palace, which from some cause had been left unfinished,

[a] Tradet Albericus annos viginti huic operis restaurationi impensos, alii triginta quod verius existimo. Ibid.

[b] Quod de præcipuâ ædificii mole, choro scilicet, navi, pilis, fornicibus et sacellis intelligendum puto, &c. &c. Ibid.

was completed at the expense of Cardinal Philaster, A.D. 1430.

The plate which accompanies this work will supply the place of description, and will, I am confident, ensure the decision that the exterior of the cathedral at Rheims is the most beautiful and perfect piece of Gothic architecture in the world; for where else shall we find such an union of airiness, delicacy, and magnificence? Viewing it laterally, the lightness and grace of its windows, the number, richness, and finish of the buttresses, the admirable taste of the open work, the nice disposure of ornament, and the uniformity of the whole, form a mass of consistent beauty and grandeur which is as inimitable, as it is unrivalled. The stately plainness of the tower, and the decoration, without heaviness, of the upper parts, are well worthy of admiration; but it is the west front which has long been the boast of France, and which is the perfection of its

style. Its general proportions are excellent, and the richness and delicacy of its ornament cannot be surpassed.

That these praises may not be thought extravagant and unfounded, I will point out distinctly its beauties, and the causes of its superiority. The diminishing or pyramidal form is in itself more graceful, and it is certainly more congenial to the character of the Gothic style, than the square fronts of our cathedrals. It has the advantage which is possessed too by some of ours, of having no mixture or confusion of design; but here how nobly has the invention and taste of the architect displayed itself! He has surpassed every other front in richness, at the same time that he has excelled them in lightness; he has judiciously placed all his heavy magnificence below, and has gradually lightened and relieved his ornaments as they rise to the summit; the eye is delighted, without being confused; every thing partakes of the pyramidal and spiral form, and the architecture

is preserved as delicate and light as possible, as a contrast and relief to the sculpture.

One of the chief and distinct excellencies of this West Front, and that which renders it superior to all those of this country, is the admirable magnificence of the portal, and its just proportion to the rest of the building. The great entrance of a cathedral should always be worthy of the structure to which it leads; yet this circumstance seems never to have influenced the English architects, who have expended their chief care in the construction of a magnificent west window, beneath which invariably, a disproportionate door presents itself.[a] We have not a single entrance worthy of our churches, and in this respect, the arrangement of the French churches, with their ample portals and rose windows, have externally a decided advantage.[b]

[a] See the west fronts of York, Salisbury, Wells, and Litchfield Cathedrals; Westminster Abbey, King's College Chapel, &c. &c.

[b] The Gothic portal in England, which is most in proportion

In surveying the cathedral of Rheims, there is, I think, nothing which the most scrupulous taste would wish altered, except the finish of the towers, which perhaps might have assumed a more spiral shape. The number of its minute beauties are astonishing; the pinnacles finished with figures, flowers, and crosses, are without doubt the most beautiful of their kind. The fleurs de lis spread along the roof, which decoration is also used at Amiens, Abbeville, St. Remigius of Rheims, and I believe in all French churches, have an admirable effect; and it is no wonder that in the cathedral of the city, where the divine present of the Auriflamme[a] was made to Clovis, its symbol should be displayed with peculiar ostentation and magnificence.[b]

to the height of the building above it, is that of the north transept of Westminster Abbey, which is, as to its whole plan, very much in the French style.

[a] Banniere de Vermeil toute semée de fleurs de lys d'or que l'on conte avoir eté envoyé du ciel au grand Clovis. Antiquités et Recherches des Villes, etc[a]. de France, p. 212.

[b] Another reason of a more general nature is mentioned in a

The name of the original architect of this beautiful edifice, is probably entirely lost, but it is not without reason that we accord the praise of its completion and decoration to Robert de Coucy,[a] who was undoubtedly director of the works at Rheims during the latter part of the 13th century: the ornaments of the exterior were always the last finished, and it is a greater satisfaction to know to whom to attribute these peculiar and distinguishing beauties of this cathedral, than if we had discovered the original designer of the whole, unless we could be certain that his designs were not embellished by the genius of succeeding architects. I think there is little doubt of that having

description of the abbey church of St. Remigius. In fastigio sunt lilia et flosculi alternatim posita quæ Regum largitionibus Basilicam ditatam prædicant. Frodouard, Hist. lib. iii. 328.

[a] His epitaph, in the cloister of St. Denys at Rheims, contains only these few words: "Cy gîst Robert de Coucy Maistre de Notre Dame et de Saint Nicaise qui trepassa l'an 1311." Epit. Chron. S. Nicas. Rem. cap. iii. L'epitaphe qu'on voit sur sa tombe fait assez connoître qu'il en eut la principale inspection, du moins pendant qu'on l'acheva. Felibien, lib. iv. 246.

been the case in the present instance, and I am still more certain that if it was so, Robert de Coucy has the fairest possible claim to the first place among the known and unknown professors of "the mystery of the rule and square," of those ages.

It remains for me to compare the style of architecture which is displayed in this church, with that which was contemporary in England. It signifies very little which part of the fabric was first erected, since, excepting three windows in the south transept, it proceeds upon the same plan throughout;[a] however, as it was rebuilt from its foundations, it is probable that the choir was first begun upon; and this supposition is strengthened by the dedication of the altar in 1215. I do not remember any English church commenced at precisely the same period, and though the cathedral of

[a] Tota qua exterius patet ecclesiæ fabrica sive a tergo sive ad latus eandem elegantiam retinet ac iisdem decoratur ornamentis. Met. Rem. Hist. lib. iii. p. 272.

Rheims might maintain, as to every purpose of proving superior advances in architecture, a successful comparison with that of Salisbury, which was begun ten years later, yet I prefer reserving the more striking and decisive instance of Amiens, to encounter that edifice in a succeeding chapter. I shall therefore proceed to collect the general state of Gothic architecture in England, at the commencement of the thirteenth century.

It is allowed by a writer[a] most strenuous in giving the English the merit of the invention, to have been *then* "in its infancy;" and it is certain that at the time of the foundation of Rheims cathedral, our most considerable regular efforts in the Gothic style, were St. Hugh's[b] work at Lincoln, and De

[a] Hist. and Antiquities of Winchester, by Milner.

[b] This prelate filled the see from 1186 till 1200, and under his auspices the upper transept and chapter house were probably erected during the last ten years of the twelfth century; and if St. Hugh the Burgundian has not been mistaken for Hugh de Wells, (1209) they are the first regular essays of Gothic architecture in this country. Vide Essex's paper in Archaeologia, Vol. IV.

Lucy's addition to the cathedral at Winchester,[a] and that the character of these works is preserved with very little alteration during the first half of the century in question. De Lucy's[b] work is mentioned by the same writer, than whom none is more deeply versed in English antiquities, as strikingly characteristic of the age in which it was executed. The windows of Rheims are *not* narrow and oblong, with obtuse-angled, or lancet-like heads, and without mullions; particulars on which Dr. Milner insists as a principal proof of De Lucy's work having been built at the beginning of the 13th century: nor do his other characteristics accord with the more decorated features of the church I am describing: instead of being

[a] Anno 1202 Wintoniensis Godfredus de Lucy constituit confratriam pro reparatione ecclesiæ Wintoniensis duraturam quinque annos completos. Annales Winton.

[b] Dr. Milner's observations respecting the west window and door of St. Cross, is made upon no authority, and is so contradicted by the rest of the Essays on Gothic architecture, and by the observation of every one skilled in these matters, that I need lay no stress upon it.

narrow and lancet shaped, the windows are broad and spacious; and instead of being without mullions, an upright shaft supporting two arches surmounted by a six-foil is the universal embellishment throughout the cathedral; an ornamental combination the first and feeblest hint of which is sought out from the porch of Beaulieu Refectory, erected about this time, but which was not decidedly adopted in England till near the middle of the 13th century;[a] even then, we shall in vain search for similar instances of lightness and delicacy of execution. In speaking of the first half of the 13th century, I will confine my comparisons to the body of the church and its windows; the other ornamental parts were no doubt executed as in the later period; but where in Westminster Abbey, or any other contemporary, or I might even add, later period in England shall we find such a combination of grace, elegance,

[a] Netley Abbey was probably begun 1239. Westminster Abbey in 1245. Stowe.

and effect? In addition to the beauties I have already pointed out, the sculpture is also in a superior taste to any thing we can produce of the same date; and it may be with truth asserted, that the richness and magnificence of the arched buttresses are such that they seem to have been added for the purpose of decoration rather than of strength.[a]

I have said less of this church than I should have done, had I not proposed, in speaking of Amiens, to make a more full and exact comparison with our edifices of the same date; but it must be remembered, that the conclusions drawn from this instance are perfectly consistent with those to be deduced from that structure, and equally decisive upon the general question which I have in this work undertaken to agitate and to explain.

[a] Parastatæ quibus a dextrâ fulciuntur fornices tot liliis et floribus scatent ut ad ornatum potius quam ad fulturæ opus dixeris positas. Met. Rem. Hist. lib. iii. p. 472.

THE ABBEY OF ST. NICAISE AT RHEIMS.

The progress of Gothic architecture in France is considerably further illustrated by the abbey church of St. Nicaise, in the same city, the dates of the greater part of which appear to be well ascertained, as are the architects' names who were employed upon it. The [a]original foundation is said to be of the fourth century, and to have borne, for a long period, the title of Basilica Jovinia, it having been erected by Jovinius, a roman military prefect, in honour of his relation Agricola, who suffered martyrdom at Boulogne on the persecution of Dioclesian; but, like many other churches, it afterwards changed its patron, and put itself under the protection of St. Nicaise, an archbishop of Rheims, who suffered decapitation within its sanctuary in the fifth century.[b] This old church having fallen into

[a] Epitome Chronicon S. Nicasii Remensis, cap. i.

[b] Ib. cap. iii.

decay through the neglect of his successors, a new one was built from its foundations by Gervase, who was elected archbishop in 1056.[a] The present structure, however, took its rise 160 years after the death of Gervase, when the fame of the patron saint was so high, that the church was deemed too small for the reception of the crowds who visited his shrine.[b] Accordingly the abbot Simon having deliberated upon the undertaking in a full chapter of the convent, determined upon erecting a new and more extensive fabric. The ground was properly excavated to receive the foundations, and the first stone was laid by Henry de Braine, Archbishop of Rheims, on the second feast after Easter, A. D. 1229.

Two archbishops, whose names are still preserved, were successively employed on this structure, and their talents and genius are eminent, though distinct in every part

[a] Epitome Chronicon S. Nicasii Remensis, cap. ii.

[b] Ib. cap. viii.

of it. The fabric was begun, for the convenience I suppose of using as long as possible the old choir, at the west end, which was completed, together with its portal and towers, and a considerable part of the nave, by Hugh Libergier, who died in 1263.[a] Robert de Coucy, whose genius is so conspicuous in the decoration of the cathedral, was engaged to finish the rest of the structure; he built the choir, with its surrounding chapels and the transept.[b] We discover, from a grant to the monks of St. Nicaise of the stone quarries near Harmondville, belonging to the Abbey of St. Theodoric, that

[a] Hugo Libergier pronaon ecclesiæ perfecit, utrasque alas, frontem, propylæum et turres. Chron. S. Nicas. p. 636.

This architect lies under a white tomb, near the entrance of the church; he is represented bearing a model of the church in his left hand, and a rule and compass in his right. His epitaph is round the edge of the monument. 'Cy gist Maistre Hugue Libergier qui a commencè cette Eglise l'an de l'Incarnation 1229, Mercredy d'apres Paques et mourut l'an 1263, le vendredy d'apres Paques, pour Dieu priez pour lui.'

[b] Robertus cognomento de Coucy caput Ecclesiæ construxit cum sacellis quibus mirificè circumcingitur, latera quoque ceu brachia quæ cum superiore fornice crucis figuram efficiunt. Chron. S. Nicas. Rem.

the work was carrying on in 1297, and it is probable that it was directed by Robert de Coucy till his death, in 1311. He must, however, have left the transepts in a very unfinished state, for they remain incomplete at the present moment.[a] There is a part of the cloister in a similar condition; this, together with the chapter-house and dormitory, were probably the subsequent work which we discover to have been going on in 1322[b] and in 1328, after which period we hear no more of it; and when we consider the distracted state of the north of France during the greater part of the fourteenth century we shall not wonder at this silence.

It seems from the length of time which

[a] Ad hucque restant brachia ut vocant seu latera imperfecta. Ib. p. 638. Claustrum pariter, &c.

[b] In the will of Archbishop Robert, 1322, A. D. we read, 'Nicasianis verò tres sui Currus, seu rhedæ meliores equos concessit provehendis lapidibus ad magnifice inchoatam eorum Basilicam proficiendam. Met. Rem. Hist. tom. ii. 609. This should seem to allude to the transept 'probatque rescriptum Guidonis Episcopi Cameracencis questam ceu collectam adhuc fieri permittentis Anno 1328, necdum tum cessatnm fuisse.' Chron. S. Nicas. Rem. p. 638.

elapsed from the laying the first stone, to the death of the last architect, that the work was frequently interrupted, and this was probably occasioned by a want of money; a circumstance the more likely, when we consider that the funds depended upon voluntary contributions, and that the metropolitan church of the province was erecting at the same time, and supported by the same means: we may easily imagine that the chapter of the cathedral was possessed of more interest and influence than the monks of St. Nicaise; and the event answers to such a supposition, for they raised a more splendid fabric in a shorter period.

I have before alluded to the disputes between the agents of the two bodies, and it may be curious to describe the mode of collecting contributions upon such occasions. Having obtained a bull from the Pope, two preachers were dispatched from the convent through the towns and villages of the province, who carried on a sort of bier the relics

of their tutelar saint: wherever they stopped they shewed their credentials, and, with the consent of the ordinary, assembled the people, and if the church laboured under an interdict, they bade it cease during their stay. The topics of their exhortation were obvious; the life and miracles of their saint, the decay of his church, and, more than all, the promise of indulgences. Need we then wonder if the sight of the relics, the earnestness of the monks, and the assurances of pardon, in those days of passion and credulity, could seldom fail of success, and that from such powerful incitements arose the fund for those stupendous masses of labour and expence which still excite our admiration?

The church of St. Nicaise, though inferior in size to many others, is well proportioned, and is admired for the lightness and delicacy of its execution.[a] It has a peculiar interest in an examination like the present, from the

[a] On estime cette Eglise a cause de le delicatesse du travail & de la beaute des proportions. Felibien, p. 245.

date of its West Front being correctly ascertained; which is therefore a model of great consequence in tracing the progress of Gothic ornament. Comparing it with that of Notre Dame, at Paris, which was prior in date, we find in St. Nicaise a greater airiness, and more decided Gothic character. Its beauty arises from perforation and relief, more than from sculpture or ornament, and it displays many of those graceful arrangements which were immediately afterwards more perfectly achieved in the cathedrals of Rheims and Amiens: like them it assumes a diminishing or pyramidal form, and places its heaviest ornaments on the lower story of the building. Its Portal, though not lofty, is considerable, striking, and prominent; and the rose window, by which it is surmounted, enriches the rest of the façade. The perforation of the towers is peculiar, and has the most happy effect in lightening the building, the unadorned buttresses of which stood in need of such a relief, and the whole is grace-

fully set off by the double order of slender columns on each of the towers, and the beautiful arcade by which they are united.

Some persons may suspect, from the position of the rose window in the pointed arch, that it was inserted at a subsequent period; but the uniform practice of the French artists will lead us to a different conclusion. We shall find that they not only always ornamented their west fronts with large circular windows, but that they adjusted them in this manner. At Notre Dame we see one of these placed in a semicircular arch, which is certainly more calculated to embrace it;[a] but in the Gothic buildings which succeeded we shall always find them inserted in the last pointed arch of the vaulted roof. The front and transept of Rheims cathedral contain

[a] The rose window of the south transept of York cathedral, the earliest of the rich kind in this country (about 1250), is placed in the same manner; as may be observed by viewing from the interior of the church.

Other instances may be found in the abbey church of St. Victor, at Paris, St. Denis, Amiens, St. Germain l'Auxerrois, &c.

three instances of this arrangement; and we have authority to assert, that the same would have taken place at St. Nicaise, had the transept been completed.[a]

In comparing this church with those which were contemporary with it in England, I must remark, that it affords another instance of the superior progress of the French in Gothic architecture; for we find in the plan of Hugh Libergier, invented in 1229, windows and perforations having the same width and mullions as those afterwards used in England, for the first time at Westminster Abbey; we also find a profusion of arch buttresses, and a delicacy of finish unknown to us at that period; western towers, of which we have no contemporary instance; and a rose window which, for magnificence, we could not equal for near half a century afterwards. The trefoils, arches in half relief,

[a] Adhuc restant brachia ut vocant seu latera imperfecta et in eo latere quod est versus meridiem *fornix* desideratur, in altero vero ad septentrionem *fornix* cum *rosa vitrea*. Chron. S. Nicas. p. 638.

and the opus [a]reticulatum, were common to the churches of both countries at this period.

[a] An expression of Vitruvius, to signify a work of diagonally crossing mouldings on joints like the meshes of a net. Vitruvius, lib. ii. cap. 8. This sort of work may be found in many Norman and early Gothic buildings in England; as Lincoln, Westminster, &c.

CHAP. VI.

AMIENS.

Amiens Cathedral—its dates—comparison with the contemporary Cathedral of Salisbury—description of the present state of the building—comparative measurements.

The [a] cathedral of Amiens is a remarkable specimen of the beauty and lightness of Gothic architecture. It has always been mentioned by travellers in the highest terms of admiration, but it principally claims our attention, as it seems to throw very strong light upon the history of that style, which has so long been, and probably will continue to be, distinguished by the contemptuous epithet it at present bears. It must be observed, in the first place, that the cathedral of Amiens materially differs in its architecture and in-

[a] Templa visuntur egregiè structa, interq. ea episcopale Beatæ Virgini dicatum quod apud nonnullos primam laudem per omnem Galliam obtinet. Topograph. Gall. Pars. ii. p. 14. Aussé estimée par la beauté et l'excellence du travail, que par la grande etendue. Cazon peut dire qu'il y a peu d'ouvrages Gothiques aussi parfaits. Felibien, 227.

interior arrangements from the contemporary sacred edifices of this country, which proves that a dissimilarity existed between the architecture of England and France in the very first age of the Gothic style; and, secondly, it must be allowed, that this dissimilarity constitutes a more advanced state, and a greater perfection in the French Gothic.

The date of Amiens' cathedral being correctly ascertained, and nearly coinciding with that of our celebrated church of Salisbury, a fair comparison may be instituted between the contemporary styles from these two specimens.

Both these buildings were begun in the same year, from whence we may reasonably infer, that both their plans were projected at the same time; and it is still more certain from history, as well as from the general appearance of the two edifices, that the original plan was in both instances adhered to through-

out; no mixture or progression of style is to be observed in either.

The two former cathedrals of Amiens had been destroyed by fire; the first in A.D. 1019, the second in A.D. 1218. The present edifice was begun in the year 1220, under the auspices of Bishop Evrard, who collected great sums from the clergy and people for this purpose.[a] His successors, Geofroi d'Eu, Arnoul, Gerard de Conchi, and Aleaume de Neulli, continued it, and it is said to have been finished under Bertrand d'Abbeville, in 1269; however it is certain that it was not entirely so till 1288: probably the multitude of statues on the west front, the pinnacles, the pavement, the fitting up of the side chapels, and many other works of this kind, might be carried on after the building was

[a] Vide Les Antiquitiés d'Amiens. Mais il est constant que ce fut lui [i e Robert de Lusarche] qui commença à batir l'eglise cathedrale d'Amiens sous l'episcopat d'Evrard, l'an 1220, &c. Felibien, p. 226. Structum est quadrato lapide anno 1220. Topogr. Gall. p. 14.

said to be finished: that this was the case with the towers we learn from distinct notices, which shew that they were erected in the fourteenth century.[a] Besides the two grand dates of the commencement and entire completion of the cathedral, we are also acquainted with the names of its three architects, the last of whom caused the following inscription to be placed in the middle of the pavement of the nave, where they are all three represented with Bishop Evrard.

En l'an de grace Mil Deux Cents
Et Vingt, fu l'euvre de chéens
Premiérement encommenchiés
Adont y est de chest Eveschiés
Everard Evesque benis
Et Roy de France Loys
Qui fu fis Philippe le Sage
Chil qui maistre de l'ouvrage
Maistre Robert estoit nommé
Et de Lusarches surnommé.
Maistre Thomas fu apres lui
De Cormont, et apres ceslui
Se fis Maistre Regnault qui mettre
Fit à chest point chi cette Lettre
Que l'incarnation valoit
Treize cent ans douze en failloit.

[a] Vide Les Antiquités d'Amiens.

From this chronicle of names and dates we obtain sufficient information for our present purpose. The extra æra of Salisbury cathedral is equally well ascertained, from the contemporary history[a] of it by William de Wanda, its precentor. Its foundation was laid on the 4th of the calends of May, in the year 1220; the east part was probably finished together with the first transepts in five years afterwards, when we read of three altars being dedicated by Bishop Poore: it was carried on during his pontificate, and those of Robert Bingham and William of York, and the whole was completed in 1258, under Bishop Brideport;[b] when it was dedicated with great solemnity by Boniface, Arch-

[a] A translation from the original MS. of William of Wanda, is given in Price's Observations on the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. It is very curious and particular as to the translation and foundation of the church, but does not extend beyond the year 1226.

[b] Ægidius de Bridport consecratus anno 1256. Ecclesiæ structurâ jam tandem absolutâ, per Bonifacium Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem ea dedicata est tricesimo Septembris 1258, &c. Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ commentarius, 145. Mat. Westmon.

bishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the king, and a vast assemblage of prelates and nobles. It appears, however, that the external decorations were not finished till two years afterwards;[a] and that the cloisters, chapter house, muniment-house, and other buildings, were going on during the succeeding ten years. The dates, therefore, of the cathedrals of Amiens and Salisbury nearly, if not exactly, coincide; and even if they were less near, we have a sufficient specimen of the progressive alterations of the Gothic architecture of our own country during the last half of the thirteenth century, in the works which were carrying on during that period in Westminster abbey.[b]

[a] On the tomb of Bishop Poore we find, 'Fuitque ecclesia hæc ædificando per spatium 40 annorum, et consummata est 8 Kal. Apr. A.D. 1260. Leland Itinera. f. 62. But we also see in Leland (vide the end of this chapter) the names of the two persons who directed the works here for fifty years. The cloisters, chapter-house, &c. cannot be comprehended in the term Ecclesia, though they may in Nova Fabrica, and it is pretty certain that they were added to the church afterwards. See Price's Professional Reasons.

[b] See Appendix PP.

It now remains to shew, that Amiens cathedral is in many respects different in style and plan from the contemporary buildings in England, and that it is in a more perfect and advanced state of Gothic architecture; but it may be proper, first to mention the points in which the styles of Amiens and the English churches of the same date agree, that it may not be conceived that the architecture of the French cathedral is so entirely dissimilar from our own, as to render a comparison between them inconclusive. My object is to shew, not that the French built churches in the thirteenth, like ours of the succeeding century, but that they had before us added to the simple beauties of the former period many of the graces which were not adopted with us till the latter.

The chief characteristics of the thirteenth century with us, were the highly pointed arch, struck from two centres, and including an equilateral triangle from the imposts to the crown of the arch, the lancet-shaped

window, and, to use the words of one of the most useful writers on the subject, 'Purbeck marble pillars, very slender and round, encompassed by marble shafts a little detached,'[a] and a profusion of little columns of the same stone in the ornamental parts of the building.

All these particularities are to be observed in Amiens cathedral: the arches of the aisles are like those of Salisbury and Westminster; the pillars are according to Mr. Bentham's description; the west front is covered with innumerable small columns; and the lancet-shaped arch, though not adopted in the windows, is to be seen with admirable effect crowning the semicircular colonnade at the east end of the choir. The vaulting too is like that of Salisbury, 'high pitched between arches and cross-springers only, without any further decorations.'[b]

The dissimilarities come next to be con-

[a] Bentham's Hist. of Ely, p. 39.

[b] Bentham speaking of Salisbury, p. 39. Sir Christopher Wren's Survey, in Price.

sidered, and these are so numerous in plan, proportion, and ornament, that they may be said to constitute the general character of the building. 1. The disposition of the church, with the aisles to its transepts, its double aisles on each side the choir, together with its beautiful semicircular colonnade at the end of it, will be allowed to be material dissimilarities; and, from the number of columns it presents in every point of view, an infinitely richer effect is produced than within any of our churches of the same date. 2. The proportions of the whole cathedral, particularly its surprising loftiness,[a] the height of the pillars to the arches, and many other details, will be also found exceedingly dissimilar, if we compare them with the English edifices of the same period. 3. In the ornamental part, however, the chief difference exists; the west front, which has

[a] Ob altitudinem omnia alia excellentem. Topogr. Gall. 14. On remarque la trop grande hauteur de la nef à proportion de sa largeur. Felibien, p. 227. For the comparative measurements, see Appendix.

a portal of just and magnificent proportion,[a] exhibits the most gorgeous display of statuary; armies of saints, prophets, martyrs, and angels, line the door-ways, crowd the walls, and swarm round all the pinnacles; nothing can be more rich, and nothing both in design and effect can be more different from Salisbury. If it be found that the latter has the advantage in point of lightness, it should still be remembered, that not lightness, but richness, was invariably the principal object in this part of the building.

The next dissimilarity I shall point out regards the bowes, or arch buttresses, which it was our custom, in the early part of the thirteenth century, to conceal in the roofs of the side aisles, as may be seen at Salisbury, Lincoln, the south transept of York, at the east end of Canterbury in the twelfth century, and in other instances. The profusion

[b] The three west entrances are in the style of those at Rheims. That in the centre has depth sufficient to contain eight rows of statues.

of these at Amiens is very striking, and the manner in which they are managed and relieved by ornamental perforations deserves great admiration; but the chief difference between Amiens cathedral and its contemporary buildings in England consists in the size, dimensions, and magnificence of its windows.

It is well known that 'the long, narrow, sharp-pointed window, generally decorated on the inside and outside with small marble shafts,' is employed all over Salisbury cathedral;[a] these are often combined together, surmounted by a rose,[b] and persons fond of tracing the progression of Gothic architecture, are eager to point out, in these combinations, the outline of the more spacious and magnificent windows, which were not adopted in the English churches till half a century afterwards. But we find at Amiens,

[a] Bentham's Hist. of Ely, p. 39. Sir Christopher Wren's Survey of Salisbury, 1668.

[b] Bentham's Hist. of Ely, p. 39. Dr. Milner, in Essays on Gothic Architecture, 131, &c.

in the plan of Robert de Lusarches, in the year 1220, windows of a width and stateliness, which were never surpassed at any subsequent period in this country.

[a]Amiens cathedral consists of two tiers of these magnificent windows; those of the nave are divided by three perpendicular mullions, surmounted by the same number of roses. Those to the east of the transepts have five mullions and three roses, and are crowned by a pediment ornamented with a trefoil; three most noble circular or rose windows, full of stained glass, enrich the transepts and west front of the edifice; so completely light is this cathedral, and so artfully and delicately is it constructed, that except in its west front, hardly any wall is visible throughout the whole building: it is all window. Between those of the lower story, room is only left to insert a narrow buttress, which rises up into a pinnacle, and branches out into bowes above; these meet the building

[a] See Appendix QQ.

just under the vaulting of the roof, and are received on the small slip of stone-work which divides the upper windows. Internally, there is no range of open arcades between the arches of the nave and the upper tiers of windows, which is found in all our cathedrals.

That Amiens cathedral differs materially from ours of the same date, is manifest from the above statement. That it is a more light and more beautiful specimen of Gothic[a] architecture than either Salisbury or Westminster, will be allowed by all who have seen it.[b] That it exhibits a more advanced state of the art will also, I think, be admitted by all who have made the progression of Gothic ornament their study, and who will take the trouble to consider and pursue the comparison here instituted.

As when Robert de Lusarches had formed the plan, and began to erect this elegant and

[a] Aditus, Columnæ, Chori, Fenestræ, Altaria et Sacella in stuporem rapiunt Spectatores. Topog. Gall. p. 14.

[b] See Appendix RR.

uniform structure in 1220, no instance had occurred in England except of the narrow lancet-windows; and as a considerable time, probably half a century, elapsed before the various combinations of these gave place to such regular and magnificent windows as we here see were projected and begun upon at Amiens in 1220; (for, as I before said, the cathedral is all window, and the richest of these are to be found eastward of the choir, the part which was first erected) I think we must be brought to this inevitable conclusion, that the French had advanced from the original simplicity of this Gothic style to the succeeding richness, at a time when the former alone was known in this country.

I have been induced to enter more largely into this subject, as I perceive a disposition among antiquaries to consider the question concerning the origin of the Gothic style as already nearly settled, which I am fully convinced is by no means the case.

By some it has been asserted, that we have

a right to adopt the term of *English*, when speaking of this mode of architecture, to the great surprise of all persons conversant with the origin and progress of Gothic architecture, and with the different specimens of it in various parts of the continent; and it is more particularly to be regretted, that this unauthorised assertion should have been introduced into one of the most splendid, and in many respects judicious, publications, that was ever given to the English public; which, whilst it admires the magnificence of the work, cannot but regret that it is accompanied with this very extraordinary and unfounded claim.

Having surveyed the cathedral as an antiquary, I shall conclude with some observations of a more general nature. On entering the west door, which is ornamented with eight rows of saints, we are immediately struck by the loftiness and lightness of the

fabric, the profusion of pillars, the exact arrangement of chapels on each side, filled with marble decorations, but above all by the inimitable semicircular colonnade, with lancet arches, at the end of the choir. The situation of the organ, at the western extremity of the nave, suffers the eye to embrace the whole structure at once; an arrangement much superior to that adopted in our cathedrals. The choir is superb; it is paved with fine marble, and angels leaning forward from every pillar, support the lights; at the termination, a mass of clouds, with gold rays bursting forth, has an excellent effect. In the midst of these are preserved the relics of Saint Firmin, the founder of the see. The pulpit, in the nave, is very handsome, and a monument behind the choir, in which a child is represented in tears, is well worth observation. In the north transept there is an altarpiece which represents in basso-relievo, Christ surrounded by all the hierarchy of Heaven, under which is written in gilt

letters, "Auspicibus tantis dabitur Victoria plebi." In another recess, which has the appearance of a chapel with an organ in it, a bed-room is constructed for a man whose business it was to ring the bell during the night, and to keep watch over the plate, which was distributed on the different altars of the cathedral: there is no occasion at present for such an office, all the silver candlesticks and ornaments were pillaged by the revolutionists; the relics would have shared the same fate, and perhaps the church itself, had not the mayor and some of the inhabitants of the town taken up arms for their preservation. The relics were preserved at the mayor's house till the storm was sufficiently abated, and they could be produced again with safety. Amiens cathedral has consequently suffered less than any other of the French churches, and, with the exception of the plate, and a few heads which were knocked off the external statues by the soldiers of a Belgic regiment, the whole edifice retains its

original splendour. Its ancient establishment consisted of a bishop, nine dignitaries, twenty-nine canons priests, thirteen canons deacons, &c. &c. besides sixty-two chaplains, six musicians, and ten singing boys; at present it has a bishop and nineteen canons.

I must not forget to mention, that the brazen effigies of Bishop Everard, the founder, and Bertrand d'Abbeville, the finisher of the cathedral, remain upon their tombs, which are placed, by way of distinction, on each side of the great western entrance, and the other benefactors of the church are placed near them. The spire of the cathedral, which is made of chesnut wood, is in a bad taste, yet it should not be taken away unless something better be erected in its place.

It is extraordinary that Gray should have compared this church to that of Canterbury; no two structures of the same sort were ever more totally, and in every respect different.

Amiens contained, before the revolution,

twenty-five convents, three chapels, two collegiate, and fourteen parish churches, most of which are either in ruins, or turned into barns and houses.

Measurements of the Cathedrals of Amiens and Salisbury.

The following are all the measurements I have been able to collect with accuracy. A considerable difference will be observed in the two churches, particularly from the unrivalled elevation of that of Amiens. The proportions of the latter are set down in French feet.

	Amiens.	Salisbury.
Length from east to west	415	452
..... from the west door to the choir	220	246
..... of the choir	130	140
..... of the space behind the choir to the Lady chapel	18	65
..... of the Lady chapel	45	
..... of the transepts from north to south	182	210
Breadth of the nave	42.9	34½
..... of the transept	42.9	
..... of the sides aisles	18	17½
..... of the windows	41	48
..... of nave and side aisles	78.9	102
..... of the west front	150	115
Height of the vaulting of the nave	132	84
..... of the choir	129	
..... of the towers of the west front	210	
..... of the chapels	60	
..... of side aisles of the nave	60.8	38
..... of the choir	57.8	
Distance between each pillar	16	
Height to the soffit of the grand arches	78	78
Number of pillars, besides those next the walls	46	
..... of chapels uniformly and regularly built	25	

The number at Salisbury is nearly the same, but it must be remembered that it is a much larger church, has double transepts, and a Lady chapel divided into aisles.

CHAP. VII.

LA SAINTE CHAPELLE.

This, and the Chapel of the Virgin at St. Germain des Prez, the works of Pierre de Montereau—Its first foundation by Robert the Pious, in 1003—repaired by Louis le Jeune, in 1154—the present fabric constructed by St. Louis, in 1245—the distinguished beauties of the edifice.

Examination of the Musée des Monumens François, and of the work of M. Lenoir.

THE chapel of the palace, and that of the Virgin at St. Germain des Prez, are not only two of the most beautiful pieces of Gothic architecture in Paris, but I believe the most perfect exhibitions that can any where be found of that 'magic boldness' which all the efforts of the style were directed to attain. They are the work of Pierre de Montereau, the favourite artist of St. Louis, and one of the illustrious group of architects which the piety of the thirteenth century called forth. We learn, from the inscription on his tomb, that he lived from 1212 to 1266. [a]At that

[a] Louis XII. was the last monarch who resided there.

time the principal residence of the French monarch was the ancient palace in the isle of the city; here he administered justice to his subjects, and from thence it became afterwards the seat of the parliament of Paris.

This[a] pious sovereign engaged Pierre de Montereau to erect in it a chapel, which, when it was completed, served not only for the ordinary purposes of his own devotion, but to which it was his custom to lead his judges, petitioners, and criminals, and in their presence invoke the aid of the Spirit of Truth, before he entered upon the distribution of justice.

The ancient palace of the Counts of Paris had been repaired or rebuilt, about A.D. 1003, by Robert the Pious, who, at the same time, erected a chapel within it, dedicated to St. Nicolas. In the year 1154, Louis le Jeune repaired it; but it is to St. Louis that we owe its magnificent reconstruction, since

[a] Antiq. et Recherches des Villes de Franc. Chap. vii.

which it has always borne the distinctive title of 'La Sainte Chapelle.'

The circumstances which gave rise to this beautiful work are curious and interesting, and are thus related by Guater, Archbishop of Sens, who composed his account by order of the king.

The French and Venetians having rendered themselves masters of Constantinople in 1204, several of the nobles of the former nation were successively elected to the dignity of Emperor of the East. In 1229, John de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, was raised to the throne, who dispatched his son in law Baudouin to Italy and France for succours against the Greeks. Baudouin arrived at Paris in 1237, and was favourably received by Louis and his Queen Blanche, to whom he was related. While he was there his father in law died, in consequence of which the French affairs in the east were reduced to great danger; Constantinople was besieged

by the Greeks by sea and land, many of the nobles deserted to the enemy, and those who remained were compelled to pawn the sacred treasures of the emperors, for relief from the pressure of circumstances. Upon hearing this, Baudouin earnestly implored St. Louis not to suffer the Crown of Thorns, the most precious of all the relics, to be carried any where but into France; adding, that if the king should scruple on account of the sanctity of the relic to purchase it with money, that he, as successor to John de Brienne, would give it to him, since he wished that the country from which himself and his ancestors were sprung, should be honoured by so inestimable a deposit; accordingly, as a suitable receptacle for it, St. Louis commenced the present beautiful fabric in 1245. It is said to have cost the amazing sum of 400,000 livres tournois, and the relics and shrines with which it was enriched, to have been worth 100,000 more, as we learn from the inquest which took

place at his canonization. It is divided into an upper and lower chapel, the former of which was consecrated by the Cardinal Bishop of Frascati, the Pope's Legate, on the 27th of April, A.D. 1248; and on the same day the lower chapel was dedicated by Philip, Archbishop of Bruges, to the honour of the blessed Virgin.

This celebrated chapel is the most perfect work of its kind, and comprises in no very large space, boldness, richness, and grace. It has also that loftiness of proportion which I have before remarked. [a]The chapel of the Virgin at St. Germain des Prez is nearly the same in design, and little inferior in beauty. Let any one examine the general style and the windows of these two structures, and particularly the window in the west front of the Virgin's Chapel, rich and full of mullions, and I am convinced they will be rea-

[a] The chapel at Vincennes, which is said also to have been the work of Pierre de Montereau, was probably copied from him, as it was founded by Charles V. A.D. 1379. Topog. Gall. Par. I. 80.

dily allowed to afford a strong additional proof of the superior advances, and the superior beauty of the French architecture of the thirteenth century.[a]

It was my intention to have commented upon the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, but as I am entirely without dates, I shall only mention, that the windows in their leafy ramifications bear the marks of the fourteenth century.

From these sketches it will clearly be seen, that Paris, with its neighbouring Abbey of St. Denis, contains a most extensive illustration of the architecture of the middle ages, from the eighth to the fourteenth century. It is much to be wished, as the subject is so nearly connected with our own antiquities, that it should be fully and immediately investigated; immediately, because many of

a Sacellum circuitu spaciosum, fenestris egregiis et magna gloriatur rosa. Topog. Gall. Pars. I. 93.

these venerable structures are daily suffering decay, spoliation, and in some instances, absolute destruction. As much has been done towards the preservation of many valuable specimens of ancient art by the exertions of M. Lenoir, I shall take this opportunity of giving my opinion of the Museum which took its origin from his exertions. The zeal of this gentleman in preserving so many valuable monuments of art, and his ingenuity in restoring them, are entitled to praise; I am also ready to award a liberal portion of commendation to the taste which he has displayed in their arrangement; but the spectator of the Museum will still have to regret the want of that judgment in its disposition, which might have converted an interesting exhibition of authenticated remains of antiquity, into a sensible lecture on the progress of the arts, which, without ceasing to please as an object of curiosity, might have conveyed instruction in the most easy and forcible manner.

At a time when a general ruin had spread itself through the churches and abbeys of so vast a country as France, it was certainly a laudable plan to collect from every quarter the most interesting remains of art, and that such a collection might be instructive, to arrange them according to their successive dates in Halls, which should exhibit the characteristic architecture of each century. Unfortunately the execution of this plan is not equal to its conception: a small convent has been allotted for this vast project, which does not and cannot contain a sufficient number of specimens of each century, especially in the earlier periods of French history. It is perhaps no fault in M. Lenoir that he is restricted to such a building, and being so restricted, that he has not been able to make a more extensive collection; but no good reason or excuse can be alleged for baffling and confusing us by an incongruous mixture of styles in almost every century. The Hall of introduction, which is not as yet

arranged,[a] was the chapel of the convent; it conducts us to the Hall of the thirteenth century, which was the vestry. Here, in a small dark room, we have a meagre exhibition of the arts of that century, which, by the magnificent structures completed in it, was more glorious to France than any other period of the middle ages, and of which the architecture here exhibited gives the most mean and unjust idea. Having surveyed the few specimens of sculpture it contains, we pass to the hall of the fourteenth century, where a more splendid arrangement presents itself; but the examples, instead of being really of the fourteenth century, are principally and confessedly taken from the Holy Chapel, the work of Pierre de Montereau, who died in 1266, and who gave the plan for it in 1245; and the rest are from those parts of St. Denis which were rebuilt by Suger in the twelfth century. While the architecture exhibits a retrograde, the sculp-

[a] 1802, 1803.

ture displays an anomalous progressive error; for we find in this collection four statues of apostles which were brought from the church of St. André des Arcs, and are certainly works of the fifteenth century. Such improprieties, in an institution where every thing should afford instruction, are no light offence.

The hall of the fifteenth century comes next in review, and we are astonished to find in the place of Gothic embellishments, a gorgeous display of pilasters covered with arabesques, and all those ornaments which attended the first attempt at classic architecture. Italy herself did not begin to emerge from Gothicism till the middle of the century in question, and the arabesques[a] of Raffael at the Vatican, which were the origin of this taste in France, were hardly executed within its limits. At first sight we might be convinced that the Italian fashion, which suc-

[a] Desc. Hist. des Mon. Franc. 163. Raffael was born 1483—died 1520.

ceeded the Gothic, could not have reached France before the very last years of the fifteenth century, and that it was highly improper to produce the works of these few concluding years as characteristic of the whole century, the prevailing fashion of which ought certainly to have been chosen. By M. Lenoir's own confesssion the Italian taste did not prevail till the reign of Louis XII, which began in 1498;[a] and it is extraordinary to read from whence he professes himself to have borrowed his style of the fifteenth century; from a portico erected at Chartres in 1509;[b] from the tomb of Louis XII, executed after 1515;[c] and from the ornaments of the Chateau de Gaillon, productions imitated from Raffael, and equally the works of the sixteenth century.[d] The uniformity and splendour of the Hall is thus preserved by a continued *mis*-representation.

[a] Desc. Hist. des Mon. Fran. p. 14, 28, 163, 181, 185.

[b] Desc. p. 185. [c] Desc. p. 164.

[d] Desc. p. 164.

With regard to the monuments, the chief part of the collection is a grand display of the works of Trebati, who did not arrive in France till the year 1560,[a] of Juste and Marchand, both sculptors of the sixteenth[b] century; and to conclude this strange deviation from propriety, an elegant modern bust,[c] after an ancient painting, is exhibited in this chamber, which promises to instruct us in the state of the arts during the precise and limited æra of the fifteenth century. In the succeeding apartments many errors of a similar nature could be easily pointed out, but this collection is already sufficiently ample.

The monuments however contained in this Museum, considered by themselves, are of inestimable value; they go back to the first ages of the French monarchy, ages of which we have no other remains but what are either mutilated or uncertain. Here are well-pre-

[a] Desc. p. 185. Vol. II. p. 144. [b] Desc. p. 164, & seq.
[c] Desc. p. 174.

served monuments from the sixth to the eleventh century, which are not only highly interesting in themselves, but are the best, and almost the only guides to the state of the arts in the north of Europe: these therefore in particular, as well as those which succeed them, are so connected with our own antiquities, that they should be as familiar to an English antiquary as the best known remains in our own island. [a]The tomb of Fredegond; the capitals from St. Denis and St. Germain des Prez; the sarcophagus of Charlemagne; the vestments and stockings of Ingon; the monument and painting from Clugny; the Mosaics from St. Denis; the tomb of Abelard and of Dagobert; the portal of St. Denis; and the relic box purchased by St. Louis in the Holy Land, are remains as unique as they are precious and invaluable to the history of the

[a] Museé des Mon. Franc. et Desc. Hist. Pl. 23, p. 108. - Pl. 39, 60, p. 112.—Pl. 24, p. 109.—Pl. 21, p. 104.—Pl. 58, 57, p. 117, 118. Pl. 36, 37, p. 142.—Pl. 40, 19. p. 112, 97.—Pl. 62, 61, p. 119, 118.

arts. I have mentioned these as they are peculiarly curious; there are others also of high value; some antiques in particular of the greatest beauty, different Celtic[a] remains of considerable interest; and every lover of the fine arts must feel indebted to M. Lenoir for his preservation, with infinite danger to himself, of that fine specimen of modern sculpture, the monument[b] of the Cardinal de Richlieu, by Girardon. We may naturally rejoice that so many fine monuments should have escaped the Vandalism of the revolution; and we may for a moment admire the taste with which they are disposed; but it

[a] M. Lenoir has, according to the example of Pelloutier, Mallet, and other writers of his nation, confounded the antiquities of the Celtic and Teutonic nations, p. 82, 87. For the distinction between them see the decisive argument prefixed to Mallet's Northern Antiquities, by Dr. Percy, the present Bishop of Dromore.

[b] It may perhaps not be generally known, that at an early period of the revolution, a desperate mob having broken into the chapel of the Sorbonne, with a view to the destruction of this superb monument, M. Lenoir protected and saved it at the hazard of his life, and was actually wounded, and lost a finger in warding off a blow which was aimed at one of the figures of that interesting group.

is impossible not to regret, that in a city abounding with national edifices, so inadequate a receptacle should have been chosen for this collection; and we cannot but condemn the judgment which, professing to instruct, has adopted a mode principally calculated to confuse and mislead the inquirer.

This survey of the Museum may be applied with ease to the publication in which M. Lenoir describes the collection, and the manner in which it was formed, and to which reference has been so often made in the preceding pages. M. Lenoir appears, from this work, to be an antiquary of considerable industry and talents, yet of a vanity and affectation which perpetually expose him to ridicule, while his presumptuous ignorance calls for a more serious reprobation. His sensibility over the tomb

of Abelard, and the description of the soldier at St. Denis, are not a little amusing; nor will the reader fail to smile at a certain bragging nationality which reigns through the whole publication; it abounds too with traits of that ignorant infidelity which is at present so prevalent in France; he is a worthy disciple of Volney, and it is impossible to surpass the presumption and absurdity of his decisions respecting St. Denis, and the Mosaic calendar of that abbey.

His knowledge of architectural antiquities is apparently neither very extensive nor correct, yet he takes upon himself to account for the origin of the Gothic style,[a] without a single argument in proof of his assertion. His merit seems principally to consist in considerable industry, some knowledge of costume, and in his ingenuity and taste: above all in his zeal, and even magnanimity, in defence of what was valuable in

[a] Len. Desc. Hist. 27, 122, 146.

the arts. A great deal of information may be extracted from his publication, by the cautious antiquary, notwithstanding its numberless imperfections.

NOTE FROM THE EDITORS.

It is with considerable regret that the Editors of this work here find their employment of revision at an end. Although they feel confident that no one interested in the subject of Gothic Architecture can peruse this volume without deriving much valuable information from it, they are yet anxious to impress upon its readers the very superior advantage with which it would have been offered to them under the immediate and final inspection of its accomplished Author. They are already informed of the extent of his original plan, for the unfinished part of which some few materials are to be traced among his papers, but in too imperfect a state to be laid before the Public. The incompletion of the concluding head of his design, in which he proposed to state his opinion upon *the Origin of the Gothic Style*, is most peculiarly to be regretted, as he united in no common degree the energy and judgment requisite for such an inquiry. But it is not the incompletion of *his plan only* that the reader has to regret, what is presented to him in this volume would unquestionably have been dismissed with

much greater accuracy and fulness from the immediate hand of its author, than can reasonably be expected from the superintendence of the most zealous friendship.

It is one thing to suggest useful hints to a living writer, another and much more arduous task to enlarge, and at the same time to improve, upon a posthumous work; in the former case, the mind that conceived will incorporate in the best manner, and at its proper place, what is judiciously suggested; in the latter, the *slightest* corrections are the safest and most satisfactory.

The Editors of this volume, in discharging the office committed to them by their friend, have therefore principally confined their attention to such verbal alterations as the text, sometimes hastily composed, at others difficult to make out, seemed to them to require.

It is hoped that the references will be found correct; from the difficulty however of procuring, in some instances, the works to which the notes refer, it has not been always possible to ascertain this point: where such difficulty did not exist, the reader, it is trusted, will meet with no disappointments.

It may excite some degree of regret, perhaps, that a writer, possessed of the qualifications which distinguished the author of the foregoing work, should have confined his talents to a discussion of

so limited and partial an interest as the progress of Gothic Architecture.

His friends, indeed, must greatly lament that one endowed with so many superior attainments, should have been snatched from life without leaving some more important memorial of himself to the world than the present volume, and even that in an imperfect and unfinished state. With respect to themselves, never will the remembrance be effaced of that lively and ardent mind, that most tenacious memory, that dispassionate judgment, that inexhaustible variety of conversation, that warm and affectionate heart, and, above all, to make use of a favourite expression of his own, that 'flow of the soul,' which seemed to be inherent in him, and which never failed to excite the kindness and complacency of all whom he approached; the recollection of these, and many other excellent qualities which distinguished him, will through life be cherished by his friends as the most dear to them perhaps of all memorials.

By those, to whom he was less known, it should be remembered, that his death took place before he had completed his twenty-seventh year; that he was twice engaged in a tour upon the continent, during which every moment of his time was employed in ingenious and interesting, if not in deep and learned research; and that had his life been extended, it was his deliberate purpose

to have devoted it to the acquisition of knowledge and science.

He died regretted by a circle of friends and acquaintance, not less numerous and extensive than his own qualifications; more justly lamented by none than by the writer of this note.

APPENDIX.

(A.) The zig-zag moulding, so common in Saxon churches, is to be found in the remains of this palace. See Adams's Ruins of Spalatro, Pl. XV. XVI. XXV. XLVI.; where we may also observe, perhaps, the first instances of arches springing from column to column without the intervention of entablature, particularly in the peristyle, which strongly resembles the nave of an early Christian church, Pl. XX.; see also Pl. XVIII. The front of the baths of Dioclesian at Rome, as represented in Palladio's Drawings, published by Lord Burlington, exhibits a similar arcade, with archivolts from column to column, p. 25. Projecting figures and heads, supporting consoles, like the corbels of Gothic buildings, the invention of which Mr. Walpole attributes to Marchion of Arezzo, (Anecd. of Painting, I. iii.) are also to be found in these remains, see Adams's Views, Pl. XII. XV. XVI. XLVI. The grotesque monsters with which the spouts and gutters of ancient buildings are decorated, which the same writer suggests, arose from these fancies, are as old as the Parthenon of Athens, see Stuart's Antiquities, vol. ii. c. i. Pl. III. and VI.

(B.) It has been supposed, that the Basilica Siciniana, which in the seventh century was dedicated by Pope Simplicius to St. Andrew, was originally given by Constantine to the Christians, Ciampini Vetera Monimenta, c. 1. p. 9. c. xxvii. Ausonius seems to allude to the consecration of pagan buildings: Basilicæ olim negotiis plenæ, nunc votis pro tua salute susceptis.—Grat. Act. pro consulatu.

(C.) A representation of the Basilica Æmilia, on a coin of

M Lepidus, is given by Spanheim, and Ciampini, Vet. Mon. tab. XXI. fig. 4. in which the open porticoes of the sides appear. The ancient Basilicæ were in general built in this manner, without walls, and surrounded by open peristyles, 'Peristyles à jour et aerés,' (Delagardette Ruines de Pæstum, p. 58.) so as to admit free ingress and egress on all sides; their form is thus described by Ciampini. 'Cingebantur porticibus concameratis ex coaxatis contignationibus immissis in parastata columnis, aut pilis ad junctis; superque contignationem altera erat et superior porticus, cujus tectum testudinatum aliis porticibus, parastatis et arctariis sustinebatur: medium spatium *Pluteus* vocabatur, qui in utrumque latus per intercolumnia peristyliorum liberum habebat prospectum. Solebant in eisdem quatuor adesse tribunalia in quibus stabant oratores, ac in orbem judices. Duæ aderant porticus, inferior ac superior, in inferiori judices, advocati, et aliorum litigantium turba; in superiori ex una parte feminæ, ex alia viri qui judiciis intererant stare consueverunt, ut videre et jus dicentes audire possent.—Vet. Mon. c. i. p. 7.

(D.) This discovery was made by the industrious Ciampini, who thus describes it: Idemque latus diligenter observavi animadvertique arcus qui superioribus pro fenestris inservientibus subsunt, *tumultuario muro recentis structuræ* fuisse oppletos: ex hac igitur inspectione animo revolvi vetus tum hoc admodum et nobile ædificium antiquarum Basilicarum more constructum fuisse, *ut undique partes essent perspicuæ*, utque exprimitur in numismate Basilicæ Æmilianæ. Syn. Hist. de Sac. Ædif. a Const. Mag. constructis, c. vii. p. 122; see also Vet. Mon. c. i. p. 9. and c. ix.

(E.) Mr. Gibbon, whose active and inquisitive mind led him to investigate the revolutions of the arts, as well as the rise and decline of empires, has given the following description of the churches erected by Constantine in Byzantium, Asia Minor, and Syria: 'The form of these religious edifices was simple and oblong, though they might sometimes swell into the shape of a dome, and sometimes branch into the figure of a cross. The

timbers were framed for the most part of the cedars of Libanus; the roof was covered with tiles, perhaps of gilt brass; and the walls, the columns, and pavement, were incrusted with variegated marbles.' Hist. vol. ii. c. xx. p. 220. This is a very correct general description of the early Greek churches, but it may be doubted whether domes and transepts were adopted in the Christian buildings of the age of Constantine; they are not mentioned in any of the descriptions. The octagonal church founded by that emperor at Antioch, might probably be covered with a dome; but his principal churches at Constantinople, Sta. Sophia, Sta. Dynameos, [της αγιας Δυνάμεως] and others are mentioned to have been constructed in an oblong form, in forma *dromica*, videlicet quadrato in longum perducto. Ciamp. de Sac. Æd. xxvii. 165. xxix. 168. xxxi. 170. At Rome the churches assumed the same shape, in imitation of the Basilicæ. Sta. Croce, the only remain of the age of Constantine, and several churches of his foundation, which, though they have been rebuilt or repaired, may probably have retained their original form, are without transepts. St. Paul's is the first certain instance of their introduction; and it should be remarked, that the plan of the ancient Basilicæ was very favourable to such an innovation. In these edifices, between the semicircular tribunal of the judges, and the pluteus or great nave, (on each side of which were the porticoes and galleries containing the people) a space was left for the lawyers, which formed a kind of *transverse nave*, though it did not project beyond the walls of the building. This *navis causidica*, as it has been called, when protracted by the fanciful piety of the Christians, gave to their churches externally, as well as internally, the figure of a cross. The church of the monastery of Daphne, near Athens, built under the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, is probably the most ancient instance of transepts in the eastern empire. In the fifth century they were very generally practised. Justinian erected many churches in a cruciform shape, with domes; in Italy the latter were seldom adopted, though at Ravenna we have an instance of one, in the church erected by Galla Placidia, about eighty years after the reign of Constantine. Ciamp. Vet. Mon. c. xxiii. p. 226.

(F.) The following account, which has been selected from several which are given by Italian antiquaries, will afford a clear idea of the ground-plan and arrangement of the first Christian churches. 'Quæ vero Basilicæ noviter a priscis Christi fidelibus construebantur, *quatuor*, ut refert eruditissimus Capassutius [not. Eccles. fol. 40.] præcipuis partibus constabant. Harum prima, quæ ingressuris obvia erat, græcè Προναος, latine *vestibulum*, seu porticus dicebatur, atque pro foribus ecclesiæ structa erat. Secunda pars græcè Νᾶυς, latine *navis*, seu *gremium* nominabatur. Huc populus ad divina officia conveniebat; verum pars hæc aliquibus in Basilicis non una sed tribus, ac pluribus navibus distinguebatur, prout videre est Romæ in pluribus veterum Christianorum sacris ædibus. Quinimò in aliquibus non unica sed duplex porticus ad Ethnicorum Basilicarum similitudinem, inverso tamen ordine cum intus sit extructa erat, ut in Basilicis S. Agnetis extra urbis mænia, et S. Laurentii in agro Verano. Tertia pars aliquot gradibus supra navim assurgens græcè dicebatur αμβων, deducta voce ab αναβαινειν, quod est ascendere, latine vero *chorus* vel *sugestum* nominabatur, qui tamen locus, justâ nonnullorum sententiâ à choro sejunctus est. Quarta denique pars græce Ιερατειον, Ιερον Βῆμα, latine *sanctuarium* dicebatur. Hujus in medio situm erat sub tabernaculo, altare primarium ad quod sacerdos sacrum celebrans stabat facie ad populum versa; quo etiam situ Romæ visuntur altaria præcipua, nimirum Basilicarum præcellentium Lateranensis, Divi Petri in Vaticano, Divi Pauli Liberianæ, et aliarum plurium ecclesiarum. Hujus modi locus erat in speciem quadratam columnis sublimibus undique circumseptus, quarum media erant interstitiis ex ligno instar retis circum clusa, ut loquitur Eusebius Cæsariensis. [Hist. Eccles. lib. x. cap. 4.] Aderat insuper *tribuna*, ubi per interiorem circuitum dispositæ erant exhedræ, atque his editior, cathedra episcopalis in medio atque intimo hemicyclo assurgebat.' Theatrum Basilicæ Pisanæ, cura Josephi Martinii, Canon. cap. iii. p. 8. See also Fontana Templum Vaticanum, lib. ii. and Ciamp. Vet. Mon. c. i. and ii. and de Sac. Ed. passim.

(G.) Lebeuf, sur S. Renobert Eveque de Bayeux, Recueil,

tom. i. p. 194. 'Il n'y a presque plus que les Italiens,' says this learned and sensible antiquary, 'qui persistent dans le systême contraire sur la mission des premiers Eveques des Gauls. Ils continuent toujours à ecrire, que nous avons été éclairés de la lumière de la foi dès la fin du premier siecle ou au commencement du second: en France on ne fait pas remonter si haute cette epoque, paree qu'elle paroit mal fondée. Cést un sentiment aujourd'hui generalement abandoné en France. Ib. 229. See also De Mezeray. Etat. de la Religion dans les Gaules, II.

(H.) The same historian, relating the progress of these missionaries at Biturges, says, Illis parvam ædificandi facultatem habentibus, civis cujusdam domum de qua ecclesiam faciant expetunt; qui vero crediderant ex pauperibus erant; hi non obtenta a quo petierant domo, Leocadium quendam primum Galliarum senatorem .... repererunt, qui .. Christianus factus *domum suam fecit ecclesiam.*' Hist. Franc. i. 29. Gratian, the first bishop of Tours under Decius, per cryptas et latibula cum paucis Christianis mysterium diei Dominici celebrabat; sed anno Constantis primo Lidorius ordinatur episcopus primaque ab eo *ex domo* cujusdam senatoris *basilica facta est.* Hic ædificavit ecclesiam primam infra urbem, cum jam multi Christiani essent. Hist. Franc. x. 31.

(I.) Christian churches were built in many parts of the Roman empire before the establishment of the religion by Constantine. The rage of Dioclesian was inflamed by the sight of the church of Nicodemia, in alto enim constituta ecclesia ex palatio videbatur. Lactantius de Mort. Persec. c. xii. Ciampini has collected a long, but in many parts suspicious, list of the churches before Constantine. Vetera Monimenta, c. xviii. p. 156.

(K.) The humanity of Constantius, who at the time of this furious persecution governed Gaul and Britain, is eloquently celebrated by Lactantius. Parietes qui restitui poterant dirui passus est, verum autem Dei templum quod est in hominibus incolume

servavit. De M. P. c. xv. His annotator (Dufresnoy) remarks on the passage, 'Ita *ecclesias* in nonnullis Galliarum locis diruipassus est, nullo jussit edicto. Not. 202.

(L.) The Abbé Lebeuf, from an accurate examination of the catalogues of bishops, believes that Christianity had hardly penetrated into the north of France in the fourth century, and that idolatry was not entirely extirpated till long afterwards. Il est certain qu'il y avoit (des infideles) encore au *septiéme* siecle dans plusieurs endroits du Royaume. Le pais de Caux etoit rempli des idolâtres dans ce siecle. S. Romain qui fut fait eveque de Rouen in 626 trouva encore dans son territoire de Temples et d' Idoles à détruire. Il y en avoit de consacrés a Jupiter, Mercure et Apollon, et meme un dedié a Venus dans la ville de Rouen. Et en effet le Paganisme subsistoit bien encore vers le commencement du meme siecle dans le Berri et aux environs. Lebeuf sur S. Renobert. Rec. tom. i. 217. 220.

(M.) the old church of St. Peter at Rome was covered with gilt bronze tiles. Medianæ navis et transversæ crucis laquearium magnis *æneis tegulis* sesqui pedalibus pretiosissimis, ex *ære* corinthio *deaurato* coopertum mirificabatur. Ciamp. de Sac Æd. iv. 35. The church of the Holy Apostles, built by Constantine at Byzantium, had a similar decoration. Euseb. Vit. Constan. iv. c. 58, 59, 60. 'The Emperor Constans, in his rapacious visit, stripped the bronze tiles from the Pantheon,' to ornament some of the new buildings at Constantinople. Gibbon, Hist. vol. vi. p. 629. This decoration is always mentioned as of singular splendour by the ancient writers; yet it seems certain that it was thus early, in some instances, introduced into France. See the accounts of St. Germain des Prez, and St. Denis, in part ii.

(N.) Besides the individual instances of skill which are so requently to be remarked among the clergy of the middle ages, many convents seem to have been schools of the arts. St. Ouen, a writer of the sixth century, describing the monastery of Solognac, near Limoges, says, 'Est autem congregatio nunc magna,

diversis gratiarum floribus ornata; habentur ibi et *artifices plurimi, diversarum artium periti.*' Vita S. Eligii i. 16. Au *neuvieme* siecle *tous les arts* etoient exercez a l'abbaye de Saint Gal par des religieux. Lebeuf Etat. des Sciences, Rec. ii. 138. *Painting, sculpture, working in gold, silver, brass, and iron,* were taught in Glastonbury in the tenth century, as well as philosophy, divinity, and music. Osbern Vita S. Dunstani, lib. i. apud Ang. Sac. ii. The monastery at St. Benigne at Dijon, in the eleventh century, under the Abbat William, exhibited the same picture. Aliqui litteris bene eruditi, alii *diversorum operum magisterio docti,* alii agriculturæ præditi. Chron. S. Benig. Divion, apud Spicileg. i. 433. In England the arts flourished so much in convents to the last, that Gyfford, a visitor employed by Thomas Cromwell, pleads in behalf of the house of Wolstrop, 'That there was not one religious person there, but that he could and did use either embrothyring, writing books in a very fair hand, making their own garments, *carving, painting, or graffing.*' Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. i. 165. Walpole's Anec. p. 110.

(O.) The churches of St. Agatha, of Saints Nazarius and Celsus, and the baptistery of St. John, had been founded at Ravenna, during the fifth century, on a scale and at an expense equal to the finest structures of the same kind at Rome. Ciamp. Vet. Mon. c. xx. xxiii. xxv. Theodoric, chief of the Ostro-Goths, and King of Italy, had also erected there, in the next century, several extensive buildings, in which he was assisted by Aloïsius, Daniel, Simmæus, and Boetius; who are said, by Cassiodorus, to have been men of great genius in the arts. Felib. Arch. III. 138. 142. From these latter works, many of which were of a civil nature, and chiefly composed of ancient materials, it is probable that Charlemagne collected the mosaics and marbles which he transported to Aix.

(P.) Hist. Dec. and Fall. vol. vi. c. 71. p. 629. Mr. Gibbon refers to the original grant of the spoils of Ravenna (musiva atque marmora) by Adrian I. preserved in Muratori. Scrip. Ital. tom. iii. the testimony of the Saxon poet of the ninth century, de reb.

gest Car Magni. and the Chronicle of Sigebert. Scrip. Rerum. Franc. tom. v. the account of Eginhard [Ann. 829] is no less explicit. Plurimæ pulchritudinis Basilicam Aquis-grani opere mirabili extruxit; auroque et argento et luminaribus, atque ex ære solido cancellis et januis adornavit: ad cujus structuram cum columnas et marmora aliunde habere non posset, a Roma et Ravenna devehenda curavit.—Porticum etiam inter Basilicam et Regiam operosa mole condidit: malo *aureo tecti* Basilicæ *culmen* ornavit. The monk of St. Gal seems to contradict this, when he says, S. Dei Genetricis Basilicam, quam capellam vocant, tegulis *plumbeis* texit; but it is probable that roof was of lead, and adorned at the top with gilt ornaments.

(Q.) None of these buildings remain. In annalibus Fuldensibus et in Mettens: et Bertin. reperitur, Nordmannos Aquense pallatium, ubi in Capella Regis equis suis stabulum fecerunt, anno DCCC XXCI. incendisse. Valessi Not. Gall. p. 29. Gaufridus, in his Life of St. Bernard, mentions that the church existed in his time; and it appears, or at least some part of it, to have still remained in the seventeenth century. Ciamp. Vet. Mon. i. 7. It was constructed in the manner of the ancient Basilicæ, with two porticoes, or colonnades, one over the other on each side, like the churches of St. Lawrence and St. Agnes, which were built at Rome about the same time. Ib. de sac. æd. c. vi. ix.

(R.) Ciampini, in almost every church he describes, complains of the combinatio et incompta conglutinatio unius cujusque ordinis columnarum, epistyliorum et omnis generis cælaturarum, quas e collapsis imperatorum ædificiis, et ex idolorum templis rudes artifices collegerant, et in novas fabricas nulla architectonicæ artis lege servata congesserant. Vet. Mon. ii. 13. In the church of St. Lawrence particularly. In hoc omnes fere bases, capitula et columnæ inter se discrepant. De Sac. æd. vi. 115.

(S.) The churches in Italy were roofed in this manner from the fourth to the eleventh century. In old St. Peter's the beams

were kept unornamented and exposed, and above them the church was covered with shingles of deal. Totum templi tectum ligneum, magnis quadratis trabibus contignatum, abiegnis que tabulis levigatis irretitum atque imbricatum erat. Ib. de Sac. æd. iv. 35. Roofs constructed nearly in the same style still remain at St. Paul's and St. Clement's, at Rome, the cathedral of Orvietto, and other places.

(T.) Igitur infra supra dictum millesimum, tertio jam fere imminente anno, contigit in universo pene terrarum orbe, præcipue tamen in Italia et in Galliis innovari Ecclesiarum Basilicas; licet pleræque decenter locatæ minime indiguissent; æmulabatur tamen quæque gens Christicolarum adversus alteram decentiore frui: erat enim ac si mundus ipsè excutiendo semet, rejecta vetustate passim *candidam Ecclesiarum vestem* indueret. Glaber Rodulphi Hist. lib. iii. c. 4. Sed unde ista? non aliunde putoquam ex eo, quod cum viderent Fideles jam lapso tempore evanuisse quæ de mundi interitu fuerant constante assertione prædicta et passim credita, quasi tauto discrimine liberati (percussi enim timore homines ad ædificanda etiam pia loca remissi fuissent), alacres ad ecclesias jam permansuras erigendas, vel innovandas, restituendas ac dilatandas insurrexere. Baronius Annales Eccl. tom. xi. p. 23. an. 1003.

(U.) Domnus Præsul expensas tribuendo ac columnas marmoreas ac lapideas undecumque adducendo et Rev. Abbas magistros conducendo et ipsum opus *dictando*, insudantes dignum divino cultui templum construxerunt. Inter monachos fuit quidam juvenculus vocatus Hunaldus, solertis ingenii—injunxit illi [Vuillelmus sc.] curam hujus sacri periboli, quem tanta prosecutus est cura ut pene totum quicquid fuit ornamentorum in hac basilica, ejus studio sit aggregatum. Vetus Chronicon Abb. S. Benig. Divionensis apud Dacherii Spicilegium, tom. i. 434, 440. This chronicle, which is written by a monk of the convent in the same century, contains a copious description of the work of the abbot William, of which the round church at present remaining was only a part. The great church having been damaged by the fall-

ing of the middle tower in the time of the abbot Hugh de Arc, he began to rebuild it entirely, and the sanctuary was finished, and the shrine replaced with great ceremony, in 1288. Spicileg. i. 478.

(X.) Two belfries were raised in 1145, one of stone, and the other of wood covered with lead: the latter heing burnt by lightning in 1506. Jean Texier, a celebrated architect and sculptor of the town, was employed to construct in its place a stone steeple, which he finished in 1514, and its beauty has since passed into a proverb. It is a work of extreme delicacy, and rises to the height of 378 feet. The same artist was afterwards engaged in repairing and ornamenting other parts of this cathedral, and died in 1529. Ib. 130. 132.

(Y.) The cathedral of Lyons was begun in the twelfth century. Among the archives there are writings of the latter part of this age conveying benefactions for the continuation of the fabric (ad opus majoris ecclesiæ), and for the same purpose the metropolitan chapter, in the act of foundation of Nostre Dame de Fourviere, in 1192, reserve the right of all quarries of marble or freestone that might be found in the mountain on which it was to be erected. Hist. Litt. de Lyon par le P. de Colonia, ii. c. v. p. 65, 66. The choir is of a peculiar construction; it is septagonal, and though principally Gothic, contains some mixed work. The use which is said to have been made of the remains of the Temple of Augustus, (ib. p. 89. 95. Du Chesne Antiq. p. 645. Dumont. Voyages, i. 83.) may perhaps account for the peculiarities and classical appearance of some of its ornamental parts. It was probably begun about the year 1180.

(Z.) The abbey church of St. Victor near Paris, and the cathedral of Beauvais, may be classed among the works of the thirteenth century, though I have not been able to ascertain their dates. The former contains a rose window of extraordinary magnificence; and the choir of the latter has been generally considered the most beautiful in France; unfortunately, however, it no longer

exists: in consequence of the neglected state in which it had remained since the revolution, the vaulting of the roof, so much admired for its boldness, gave way, and fell suddenly in the night, at the beginning of December 1802.

(AA.) A beautiful rose window, or œil des aisles in this taste, is seen in the church of St. Ouën. We are informed, by an epitaph in a chapel there, that it was executed by a common mason; who, jealous of the fame which the chief architect had acquired by one he had constructed, obtained leave to undertake a second, in which he so surpassed the work of his master, that he was put to death by him in a passion. The citizens testified their admiration of his skill, by giving him a tomb in the church. (Du Chesne Antiq. p. 967.) The same story is told at Lincoln, with this difference, that the English master-mason, instead of killing his journeyman, hangs himself. A similar tradition is also preserved at Roslin.

(BB.) See Millin Antiq. Nat. tom. iii. No. 28. The tombs of Philip the Hardy, and John sans Peur, Dukes of Burgundy, are fine specimens of the state of sculpture in the fifteenth century. These dukes, who reigned in Holland and the Low Countries as well as Burgundy, were among the greatest princes of Europe, and were probably served by the best artists of the time. The monument of Philip the Bold, who died in 1404, was executed by his sculptor, Claux Sluter, assisted by Claux de Voûzonne, nephew to the former, and Jaques de la Barse. The tomb of John, who was assassinated in 1419, at the bridge of Montereau-faut-Yonne, was made by Jean de Versà, called also Jean d'Acora, assisted by Jean de Droguès and Antoine le Monturier. This is the account given in the History of the Convent. Acora is in Arragon; but it is here perhaps mistaken for Acerra, a city of Naples. Versa may likewise be Aversa in the same country.

(CC.) Jean Texier of Chartres, François Marchand of Orleans, François Gentil of Troyes, and Jean Juste, who was sent

to Rome to study the new style by the Cardinal d'Amboise, and afterwards employed by that minister in ornamenting his palace, were ingenious sculptors of this school. Paulo Trebuti, also an Italian artist, executed several fine works in France in the sixteenth century. The Chateau de Gaillion exhibits the most perfect example of the taste which prevailed at that time. See Musée des Mon. Fran. tom. ii. & iii.

(DD.) Bouillart [Hist. i. 5.] says, that the meadow was called Locotitia from these remains; and some histories of Paris relate, that the statue of Isis was preserved in the north wall of the church of St. Germain, as a monument of antiquity, till the beginning of the sixteenth century, when an ignorant woman having been discovered by the sacristan on her knees before it, offering it lighted tapers, and mistaking it for the Virgin Mary, it was broken in pieces by order of the abbot. [Du Breul Antiq. de Paris, p. 193. Topograph. Galliæ, tom. i. p. 33.] Bouillart, however, denies that this could have been a statue of Isis, particularly as it was made of plaister; but the description of Corroset, (c. i. p. 7.) who had seen it, and who describes it as 'maigre, haute droit, noire pour son antiquité et neu sinon avec quelques figures de linge enlasse en tous ses membres,' seems in favour of its Pagan origin. The idea, however, that the names Loucotetia, Lutetia, or Paris, were derived from the worship of this goddess, is totally false and unfounded. These words, which have been the subject of so many vain etymologies, are originally Gaulish or Celtic, and we are unable to discover their meaning. See Dissert. sur Isis et sur Cybele au sujet du nom de la ville de Paris, by the academician Moreau de Mautour.

(EE.) Two stone capitals, discovered in the course of the excavations which were made in the church after the revolution, are supposed to have belonged to this ancient building; one of them bears a slight resemblance to the Corinthian order; the ornaments of the other are men's heads. See Musée des Mon. Fran. tom. i. pl. 59 A specimen of the art of Mosaic, nearly of the

age of this church, is seen in the tomb of Fredegonde, constructed by order of her son, Clothaire II. about the year 600. See Bouillart Hist. p. 12. et Mus. des Mon. Fr. pl.

(FF.) Dom. Felibien Hist. de Paris. liv. ii. 20. The high altar was never dedicated to Saint Germain until 1678, when it was consecrated in his name and that of St. Vincent, previous to which the dedication of the church was in honour of the Holy Cross and St. Vincent. Felibien thinks its designation by the title of St. Germain, which we find occasionally used before the translation, particularly by St. Ouën, who lived in the seventh century, gradually became general after that event. The early preference of his name is ascribed by Bouillart, with great probability, to the miraculous properties attributed to his body. Response aux Remarques, &c. Hist. p. 299, 300.

(GG.) Morardus bonæ memoiræ Abbas, qui istam ecclesiam a Paganis ter incensam evertens, a fundamentis novam re-ædificavit: turrim quoque cum signo multaque alia ibi * *. A sarcophagus, containing the body of an abbot, supposed to be that of Morard, was dug up near the high altar soon after the revolution. See an interesting account of this transaction Mus. des Mon. Fran. et pl. 20. This coffin was believed, by Monfaucon, to enclose the remains of Cherebert; but as the body is undoubtedly an abbot's, the former opinion is very probable.

(HH.) Some curious occurrences took place at the abbey of St. Germain during these commotions, which are related by Bouillart. In 1562, the Princess Renée de Bourbon, Abbess of Chelles, fled with her convent to this monastery for safety; the nuns passed a month in the abbatical palace, 'gardant une retraite tres exacte;' they chanted mass and vespers every day, 'd'une maniere edifiante,' in the grand chapel of the Virgin; and at the other canonical hours they used the private chapel of the abbot's house, singing in a low voice, lest they should disturb the monks at their devotions in the great church. Hist. v. 15. In 1589, the danger approached Paris, the governor of which sent 150

arquebusiers to garrison the abbey. On All Saints day, at nine in the morning, as the monks were walking in procession round the cloister before high mass, the king's trumpet was heard at the gates. This created great alarm and confusion; the ceremony was abridged, and was said instead of sung. Most of the brotherhood were much terrified, though some mounted the walls and exhorted the soldiers to defend them; nearly all, however, retired to their cells, or to the church, to dispose themselves by prayer and penitence for the event. At midnight, as they were chanting matins, a second trumpet was heard, accompanied by threats of fire and extirmination; upon which the captain of the garrison capitulated, and at nine in the morning marched out, and twelve of the royal army took possession of the abbey. About an hour afterwards the king himself arrived, the monks presented themselves at the gate to receive him, but passing forwards without regarding them, he desired to be shewn the stairs of the great tower, which he hastily ascended, and for some time reconnoitred Paris with great attention. It is added, that he left the monks in profound astonishment by departing without asking to see their church. Hist. v. 24.

(II.) T. F. Felibien, in his Lives of Architects, suggests that the idea might arise from the rich hangings, which were not uncommon in those times, iii. 158. A poet of the ninth century celebrating the arrival of the body of St. Cornelius at Compiegne, speaks of the splendour of this sort of ornament.

Emicabat namque Templum
Sericis in Palliis
Aureis Argenteisque.
Hist. Transl. Corp. S. Corn. apud Compendium
Lebœuf. Rec. i. 36.

That the exterior porticoes of churches were often ornamented with splendid hangings, see Ciampini de Sac. Ædif. c. xxiv. 154. The exterior vestibule of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, built by Justinian, was hung with aurea vela, vela auro contexta et variegata. Ib. xxvii. p. 166. Gregory of Tours, de-

scribing the baptism of Clovis at Rheims, Velis depictis adumbrantur plateæ ecclesiæ. Curtinis albentibus adornantur. Hist. Franc. ii. 31.

(KK.) At Riddrefield, now Rotherfield, in Sussex. Lands being given by Berthwald Duke of the South Saxons, about the year 800, to the abbey of St. Denis in France, a convent of monks from that house was fixed here. Domesday, p. 549. The church is dedicated to St. Denis. Alien Priories, vol. ii. p. 119. In the year 960, Vitel, who had the care of the temporalities of the abbey of St. Denis, travelled to York to complain to Edgar of the extortions practised by Togred, his steward, on the villains of these estates, when his complaint was immediately attended to and redressed. Hist. St. Den. ii. 43. et. Preuves, No. 105.

(LL.) Hist. St. Den. iii. 6. The same King 'gave the monastery of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, with all the lands belonging thereunto, to the abbey of St. Denis in France, to which it became a cell of Benedictine Monks. It had eight lordships, and was accounted worth 300 marks a year, when it was sold by the abbot and monks of St. Denis to Richard Duke of Cornwall, in 1250.' Alien Priories, vol. ii. p. 118. This abbey had possessions at Wilt in Worcestershire, and at Trigtone in Oxfordshire; probably Trigtone and Tinton, or Teinton, are the same place.

(MM.) The passage in which this is mentioned gives a curious trait of the taste and enterprise of Suger. 'In agendis siquidem hujusmodi apprimè de convenientiâ et cohærentiâ antiqui et novi operis sollicitus unde marmoreas aut marmoreis æquipollentes haberemus columnas, animo supererat ut ab urbe (Romæ enim in Palatio Dioclesiani et aliis Thermis sæpe mirabiles conspexeramus), per mare Mediterraneum tutâ classe exinde per Anglicum, et per tortuosam fluvii sequanæ reflexionem, eas magno sumptu amicorum, inimicorum, etiam Sarracenorum proximorum conductu haberemus. Liv. de la Dedicace de l'Eglise de St. Denis.

(NN.) It is impossible at this moment, from a survey of the church of St. Cross, to determine, with any certainty, whether the intersecting arches of the chancel were originally pierced, so as to form the lancet windows which we now see; indeed the building, instead of appearing, as Dr. Milner suggests, 'a collection of architectural essays, or an effort of that great encourager of the arts (Henri de Blois), to produce a style of architecture more excellent and better adapted to ecclesiastical purposes;' seems made up of successive repairs and alterations executed at various times, and some of them in a very clumsy manner. It is absurd, and contrary to fact, to suppose that the discovery of the pointed arch took place here; and since the same author allows that 'the windows of the upper part, together with the groining of the nave, and the west window and door, bear demonstrative proofs of being subsequent alterations,' it is not only possible, but probable, that the lancet windows of the chancel were 'subsequent alterations' also. At any rate, nothing certain can be built upon so doubtful a monument.

(OO.) The great west window, and some others in Westminster Abbey, were put up by the abbot Islip, in the time of Henry VII. (Stowe, 848). The windows which remain of the thirteenth century, exactly accord with Mr. Bentham's description of the richest kind that were in use during the reign of Edward I. 'They were usually divided,' he says, 'by a pillar, or mullion, and ornamented on the top with a trefoil, single rose, or some such simple decoration, which probably gave the hint for branching out the whole head into a variety of tracery and foliage, when the windows came afterwards to be enlarged. Hist. Ely, p. 39.

(PP.) Henry III. began to rebuild Westminster Abbey in 1245. Matt. Paris, Hist. p. 581. 861. Among other contemporary buildings in England may be mentioned the nine altars at Durham. The east end of Ely Cathedral (1234—1258) M.S. Bibl. Cotton, Tiberius, B. 2. fol. 246. The Temple church, Chapter-house, Oxford; all with lancet windows. Tintern and Netley Abbeys (begun 1239, Turner), with the addition of only a single mullion and rose.

(QQ.) Salisbury cathedral, and those parts of Westminster Abbey which have not been rebuilt since the fire in 1299, afford no example of broad and enriched windows. The first which I can discover in England are in the chapter-house of York, and at the east end of Lincoln cathedral. The windows at the east end of Lincoln Cathedral were probably put up at the end of Henry the Third's reign, or at the beginning of the next, under Bishops Richard de Gravesend and Oliver King. (See Observations on Lincoln Cathedral, by Mr. Essex. Archæologia, vol. iv.)

(RR.) It may be remarked, that the only persons who have been discovered as connected with the building of Salisbury and Westminster were Englishmen. Helias de Berham (Canon of Salisbury), à primâ fundatione (Temp. Henry III.) Rector fuit novæ fabricæ per 25 annos, et Robertus cæmentarius rexit per 25 annos. Leland's Itin. vol. iii. p. 60.

Helias de Berham was probably, as Mr. Walpole supposes, the Elyas who repaired King John's palace at Westminster in 1209, and who was certainly an architect. Anecdotes of Painting, vol. i. p. 4, and 191.

It appears, from Dart's History, that Edward Fitzodo, a favourite artist of Henry III. was master of the works at Westminster Abbey, vol. i. p. 26. 'The Fitzotho's were Germans, who had settled in England from the time of Henry I. Anecdotes of Painting, p. 15. This, however, is a mistake of Mr. Walpole. The Othos had settled in England at the time of the Conqueror, as we find by the Domesday Book. We read there, under the head of Suffolk, 'Terra Morchari Comitis quem Will. Camerarius et Otho Aurifex servant in Mansu Regis.' In Essex, among the tenants in capite, is the name of Otto Aurifaber. (See Domesday Book illustrated, by R. Kelham, p. 132, 139.)

Otto, the Goldsmith, was ancestor of Thomas Fitzotho, mint-master, or engraver to the king's mint, and the last of the male line died 1282 (Morant, vol. ii. p. 305). This last was no doubt the architect of Westminster Abbey.

In the same work (Anecdotes of Painting) Mr. Walpole has preserved an order from Henry III. 'Magistro Johanni de Glouc: cæmentario suo et custodibus operationum Westm.' p. 25.

Quare accitis undique etiam è longinquo qui usquam poterant reperiri opificibus ecclesiæ jecit fundamenta. Godwin, 343.

We are here told, that the best artists were collected from every quarter, and even from a distance; and we may readily suppose, that the best English artists were brought together on the occasion: but we may well conceive that the French architects, certainly those of any celebrity, were fully employed in the vast works then carrying on in their own country; the cathedrals of Rheims, Lyons, Amiens, Notre Dame at Paris, the abbey churches of St. Denis, St. Nicaise, &c.

THE END.

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